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Canova's "Hercules and Lichas" by *Philipp Fehl* 3

Amor Vincit Tempus by *Marilyn Caldwell*27



Fig. 1

Antonio Canova (Italian, 1757-1822)
Hercules and Lichas
Bronze; h. 16½"
Gift of Wake County Auxiliary of the N. C.
Medical Society

Canova's *Hercules and Lichas*:

Notes Regarding a Small Bronze in the North Carolina Museum of Art

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The North Carolina Museum of Art recently was given a bronze sculpture representing "Hercules and Lichas" by Antonio Canova (fig. 1). The following notes were compiled in memory of the old and unique association which links the State of North Carolina with the work of Canova, and the highest hopes of the love of art, such as they were entertained in the beginning of the 19th century.

Antonio Canova (1757-1822) was, in his life time, esteemed and loved as one of the world's greatest sculptors, the Phidias of the modern world (fig. 2). Some critics, carried away by admiration as much as by a touching confidence in the civilizing powers of art even spoke, prematurely, of the 19th century as the age of Canova.¹ It was, in fact, due to this so finely polished enthusiasm that the State of North Carolina, guided chiefly by the judgment of Thomas Jefferson, who had been consulted as an arbiter of taste, came to commission Canova to make a statue of George Washington for its first Capitol building in Raleigh.²

Canova took this commission very seriously. To him, who had lived feelingly and honestly through the corruption and the great misery of the French revolution and of Napoleon's "grandeur", George Washington, the great general who loved peace and detested war, the founding father of his country who could have been its king but had preferred even to the presidency the life of a free citizen going about his business at Mt. Vernon, must have appeared as a great wonder: a man of probity worthy of the respect and affection with which the educated of the age (and George Washington had been one of them himself) looked upon the heroes and law-givers of classical antiquity.³

The statue (fig. 3), a seated heroic figure dressed in antique armor, showed Washington, or better, Washington *Cincinnatus*, in the act of preparing his retirement from the presidency and of penning the first words of his farewell address on a tablet.⁴ The work was received in Raleigh with joyous acclamation in 1821. It was one of the first statuary monuments of the Republic and was generally considered, until its serious mutilation in the fire which destroyed the Capitol in 1831, by far the finest work of art this side of the Atlantic.⁵ One hoped for some time that

the statue could be restored. The new Capitol building (that is our present old Capitol) was so constructed that the statue could be placed in its natural center at the crossing of the two axis lines on the main floor and complete and give meaning to the harmony of the building.⁶ A once popular print by J. Weisman and Immanuel Leutze, published in 1840, the year of the opening of the new State Capitol, shows the statue *in situ* not, as the inscription claims, as it was when Lafayette came to look at it in 1825 (for that was, of course, before the fire, and before the new Capitol building was even thought of) but as one thought it would look if it could be restored and placed in the new building.⁷ The restoration was, however, not effected and only fragments—some of them even in their ruin impressive—remain of Canova's work.⁸ As Ben Williams pointed out in an early issue of the *Bulletin*, there also exists, in the museum in Possagno, Canova's birthplace, the original model in plaster from which Canova had transferred the statue into stone.⁹ A most praiseworthy enterprise is now under way to have a new copy in marble made of this cast which, one can only hope, will, after so many years of absence, find its place in the spot originally designed for it in the Capitol.¹⁰ A cast, also in plaster, of the model in Possagno may be seen in Raleigh's Hall of History.¹¹ It does not, of course, have the fineness of detail which distinguishes the work in Possagno but it still conveys a good idea of Canova's invention and respectful and noble purpose.

Within decades after Canova's death his fame began to decline until, in the course of the first half of this century, Canova's fortune had turned so absolutely that it was considered as obligatory by the *cognoscenti* to look upon his work with scorn as it had once been fashionable to praise them.¹² The long persistence of this rejec-



Fig. 2 Sir Thomas Lawrence
Portrait of Antonio Canova
Oil on canvas; 36" x 28"
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger,
Greensboro, and Museum Art Purchase
Fund

tion (which, however, in Italy was never shared by a majority) may perhaps best be understood if we consider that what may have begun as a change in fashion in the end became a symptom of a drastic change in the habits of critics in the evaluation of works of art altogether. All the qualities of excellence which Canova had striven to achieve in his work were then, and in some quarters still are, discredited, and perhaps not only in art but in life also. Lyrical gentleness need but open a soulful eye to be shouted down as sentimentalism. Classicism, or the respectful imitation of great example in art, is accused of weakness or lack of "originality" (and intermittently, but with absurd commitment, of

latent “fascism”), and a nobly articulated, high pathos naturally appears to the suspicious realist as empty, false, and contrived; for life, he knows, “just isn’t like that.”

Most destructive, however, of the ability to understand Canova’s art, if not, in some measure, all the art of the Renaissance (of which Canova is still a descendant), was the arbitrary distinction which the avant-garde critics of a not too recent past made between the narrative content and the “form” of a work of art. The latter was believed to represent its essence and the former a foreign intrusion into the visual medi-

um of the work of art, “mere” literature—a confusing or at best gratuitous adulteration of the purity of form. The great artists of the past, it was alleged, forced by the circumstances which governed art patronage, had to include this literature in their works, but at least managed to ignore it, and modern artists happily were able to do without it altogether. One might of course as well accuse opera of not being musical because one has to mind the text in order to understand the sense of the work, but thoughts of this sort did not prevent the persuasion from having its day (or half century). They only kept—or

Fig. 3

J. Weisman and Emmanuel Leutz
Lafayette Viewing Canova's Statue of Washington
Lithograph by Albert Newsam
Hall of History, Raleigh





Fig. 4 Detail of Fig. 1 (The head of Hercules)

keep—the inveterate modernists from enjoying opera.

It is only in the past fifteen or twenty years, partially because of the renewed interest of art historians in the study of the literary meaning of works of art, that a slow re-evaluation of the art of Canova has been taking place.¹³ We seem to be developing a more just picture of his accomplishments, as removed from the blindness of the adulation of his time as from the equally blinding later indifference to the significance of his purposes.

The State Art Museum owns a portrait of Canova by Thomas Lawrence which was painted about the time when Canova was completing his work on the statue of Washington.¹⁴ It shows the artist in a casual pose, relaxed in his chair, but it

also points out, ever so subtly, like a very quiet celebration, those qualities in the man which, his admirers said, gave his works their particular distinction: gentleness and great sincerity, and a spirit of fine compassion.¹⁵

The small bronze by Canova (figs. 1 and 4-8) introduces us to the most ambitious and challenging task he ever undertook and to his perhaps most difficult work, the colossal group in marble of Hercules and Lichas in the Museum of Modern Art in Rome (fig. 10). The height of the bronze is sixteen and a half inches. It bears Canova's signature and it has all the appearance of a cast taken from a preparatory sketch for the work. Quite in keeping with Canova's manner certain essential aspects of the work—here particularly the animation of Hercules' muscles—are worked out in some detail while other parts—such as the hair of the figures or the lion's skin—are rendered almost impressionistically and show the imprints made in the soft clay by the quick action of the sculptor's modeling tool.

Canova's friend and biographer, the critic Quatremère de Quincy, records the existence of just such a sketch.

In Paris there is a sketch, the height of one foot, which represents the artist's first approach to the creation of the group ["Hercules and Lichas"]. This sketch has aroused such admiration that a large number of replicas of it were cast in bronze. Nowhere else, in fact, can we get a better view of the lively and quick spirit of the artist at work. This manner of improvising in sculpture does not, of course, offer us any part of the work in a finished form but the power of the artist's imagination is impressed upon it with such a liveliness of execution that one may even be tempted to prefer the lively and quick light of genius which here captivates the viewer to the perfection of a finished marble. In fact one readily accords such a privilege to the sketches of all the great artists, for the sketches offer or make accessible to the mind of the viewer, even by the very absence of the element of labor, a certain endlessness [of possibilities to contemplate] while the finished work permits nothing to the imagination beyond what one sees.¹⁶

The sketch described by Quatremère, whether it was the original clay or a cast of it in plaster of Paris, is lost and, as far as I know, only two of the "large number of replicas . . . cast in bronze" which were reported by him have so far been recorded. One is in the Kunsthalle at Bremen and the other in the Hermitage in Leningrad.¹⁷ The bronze at Raleigh is identical with them. Since we have no words by Quatremère to the contrary there is no reason to believe that these works do not faithfully reproduce the lost original.¹⁸

We shall return to a discussion of the sketch later, when we shall try to place it in sequence with other visual documents that we have of Canova's progress toward the completion of the work. First, however, we shall look at the final version in marble which, as Quatremère suggests,



Fig. 6

Detail of Fig. 1 (The head of Lichas against the altar)



Fig. 5 Detail of Fig. 1 (The Chest of Hercules)

"permits nothing to the imagination beyond what one sees." (fig.10).

What we see is a great deal and is calculated to inspire us with pity and fear. The work represents the moment just before the terrible climax of the action when the unfortunate Lichas will be hurled forth by the gigantic force of Hercules and meet his doom.

We cannot, of course, hope to respond justly to what we see if we do not know the story which the work represents. We must know that pitiful and terrible as is the fate of Lichas so is the murderous action of Hercules induced by the most excruciating pain which will soon lead him to seek his own death. While Lichas is the innocent victim, the tragic hero of the piece is Hercules, shown at the time of his keenest suffering and deprived—though he fully knows what he is doing—of his self-control. While he is in the full possession of his strength he is savagely

Hyllus, the son of Hercules and Deianeira, comes on stage and tells his mother and the chorus of the terrible fate which the robe had brought upon Hercules.

HY:
Observe me well: when Hercules, return'd
From conquest, had laid waste the noble city
Of Eurytus, with fair triumphal spoils
He to Euboea came, where o'er the sea,
Which beats on ev'ry side, cateneum's top
Hangs dreadful, thither to paternal Jove
His new rais'd altars in the leafy wood
He came to visit; there did my glad eyes
Behold Alcides first: as he prepar'd
The frequent victim, from the palace came
Lichas thy messenger, and with him brought
The fatal gift: wrap'd in the deadly garment
(For such was thy command) twelve oxen then
Without a blemish, firstlings of the spoil,

He slew; together next a hundred fell;
 The mingled flock: pleas'd with his gaudy vest
 And happy in it he awhile remain'd,
 Offring with joy his grateful sacrifice;
 But, lo! when from the holy victim rose
 The bloody flame, and from the pitchy wood
 Exhal'd its moisture, sudden a cold sweat
 Bedew'd his limbs, and to his body stuck
 As by the hand of some artificer
 Clos'd join'd to ev'ry part, the fatal vest;
 Convulsion rack'd his bones, and through his
 veins,
 Like the fell serpent's deadly venom, rag'd;
 Then question'd he the wretched guiltless Lichas
 By what detested arts he had procur'd
 The poison'd garb; he, ignorant of all,
 Could only say, it was the gift he brought
 From Deianira; when Alcides heard it,
 Tortur'd with pain, he took him by the foot,
 And hurl'd him headlong on a pointed rock
 That o'er the ocean hung; his brains dash'd forth
 With mingled blood flow'd thro' his clotted hair
 In horrid streams; the multitude with shrieks
 Lamented loud the fury of Alcides,
 And Lichas' hapless fate; none durst oppose
 His raging frenzy; prostrate on the earth
 Now would he lay and groan; and now uprising



Rear view of Fig. 1

Wou'd bellow forth his griefs; the mountain-tops
 Of Locris, and Euboea's rocks return'd
 His dreadful cries; then on the ground out-
 stretch'd
 In bitt' rest wrath he curs'd the nuptial bed
 Of Oeneus, and his execrations pour'd
 On thee his worst of foes: at length his eyes,
 Distorted forth from the surrounding smok,
 He cast on me, who midst attending crowds
 Wept his sad fate; "Approach," he cried, "my
 son,
 "Do not forsake thy father, rather come
 "And share his fate than leave me here; O! haste,
 "And take me hence; bear me where never eye
 'Of mortal shall behold me; O! my child.
 'Let me not perish here:' thus spake my father,
 And I obey'd: distracted with his pains
 A vessel brings him to this place, and soon
 Living or dead you will behold him here.
 This have thy horrid machinations done
 For thy Alcides: O! may justice doom thee
 To righteous punishment, if it be lawful
 For me to call down vengeance on a mother,
 As sure it is, on one who hath disclaim'd
 All piety like thee; the earth sustains not
 A better man than him whom thou hast
 murder'd,
 Nor shalt thou e'er behold his like again.²⁰



Fig. 8 Detail of Fig. 1 (Canova's signature)

And prov'd the base ingratitude of those
 From whom I sprang, the cruel gods, who saw
 Unmov'd the woes of their unhappy son.
 'Tis not in mortal to foresee his fate;
 Mine is to them disgraceful, and to me
 Most terrible, to me of all mankind
 The most distress'd, the poor, the lost Alcides.²¹

The play ends with Hercules' giving
 orders for the erection of his funerary
 pyre. In a respite between the recurrent
 attacks of pain he has regained his com-
 posure, and on being told what actually
 happened, comprehends that his end is the
 end that was long before ordained for him.

HE: 'Tis well, my son; one added kindness more,
 And I am satisfied: before the racks
 Of dire convulsion, and the pangs of madness
 Again attack me, throw me on the pile.
 Haste then, and bear me to it, there at last
 I shall have peace, and rest from all my sorrows.

HY: Since 'tis thy will, my father, we submit.

HE: Now, ere the dreadful malady return,
 Be firm, my soul, e'en as the harden'd steel;
 Suspend thy cries, and meet the fatal blow
 With joy and pleasure; bear me hence, my
 friends,
 For you have shown yourselves my friends
 indeed,

The final words are spoken by the
 Chorus and end, darkly, on a note of
 promise: "but remember: All is decreed
 and all the work of Jove."²² The audi-
 ence knew that the death of Hercules, so
 grandly faced by him in grief and loneli-
 ness, was also the overture to his apotheo-
 sis. In the flames of the pyre what is mor-
 tal in Hercules will be purged away and he
 will join the immortal gods on Olym-
 pus.²³

The model for Canova's Hercules is
 clearly the famous antique statue known
 as the Hercules Farnese (fig. 11).²⁴ It is
 not an accident that the two figures are
 not only similar in appearance but also of
 the same height, a fact that was already
 pointed out by Canova's early biograph-
 ers.²⁵

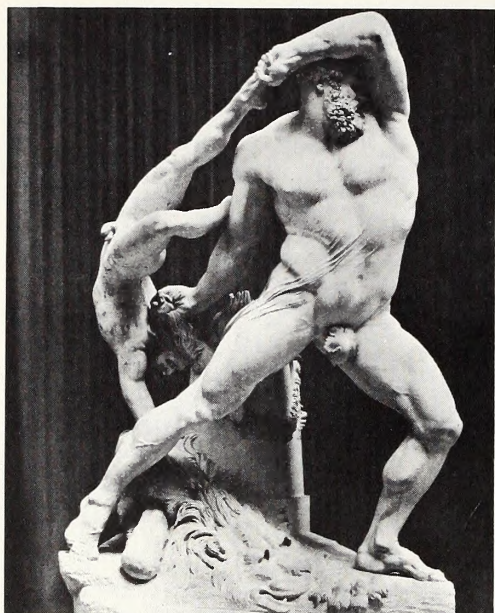


Fig. 9

Antonio Canova
Hercules and Lichas
 Marble
 Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome



Fig. 10

Hercules Farnese
 Museo Nazionale, Naples
 Photo by Alinari

This figure, now no longer popular among archaeologists because it is much restored and is merely a copy by an otherwise unknown antique artist, Glykon, after a famous work by Lysippos (which is known to us through ancient literature and through copies only) was from 1540 on, when it was discovered to almost the end of the 19th century, one of the most beloved works of classical sculpture. Artists and lovers of art were able to look at it with longing for the lost original and to see a work of beauty rather than the stiffness of the copy and the "mountainous flesh and exaggerated musculature" which strike the eye of the modern analytical observer.

They also saw reflected in it the whole drama of Hercules, the tragic hero *par excellence* whose labors freed the world from monsters and who was the type and victorious example of the human endeavor to overcome by virtuous effort the limitations which fate and environment impose upon us all.

The statue of the *Hercules Farnese* celebrates the greatness of Hercules not by the representation of one of his triumphs but in the aspect of his very weariness. He is shown resting after the accomplishment of one of his great tasks. In his right hand, probably quite in keeping with the sense of the original, the Renaissance restorer put the golden apples of the Hesperides, which, he intimates, Hercules, had just secured.²⁶ The mighty body is relaxed by fatigue but the face and the great brow are pensive and speak of the anticipation of new travails and of Hercules' resolve, in melancholy bravery, to meet them.

Fate and the gods imposed upon Hercules who seemed unconquerable—he had even penetrated beyond the very gates of Death and returned victorious—trials beyond those of his "labors" which but

tested his physical strength and his courage. Some came to him in the form of temptations which he was not able to resist. The memories of the shameful or horrible acts he then committed he bore with humble patience, and by so bearing them overcame them.

Twice he was tried, or punished horribly, by being deprived of his senses. In the first instance Hera sent madness to overcome him, and in his madness he killed his wife Megara and his children. When he regains his senses he wants to commit suicide but, persuaded by his friend Theseus, he chooses the burden of life so that he may find atonement for his guilt.²⁷

The other instance is that of his last trial, when overcome by pain, he murders Lichas and then goes to meet his death.

Canova represented both of these horrible events in sculpture. Several sketches and a fully executed relief²⁸ in plaster, (fig. 11), survive of his "Madness of Hercules."²⁹ The relief was finished in 1801 but the idea for it and preparatory sketches may have preceded Canova's interest in the theme of Hercules and Lichas.³⁰ The relief also attaches itself faithfully to a dramatic text, the *Hercules Furiens* of Euripides.³¹

It is well worth noticing, however, that both authors, though they inform us of the monstrous events in great and vivid detail, do not show them on stage. In keeping with the general and once much-praised practice of the classic theatre, they are reported to the audience by a witness only. In the *Hercules Furiens* the narrator tells us what he has just seen going on behind stage and in the case of the murder of Lichas, as we have seen, he gives an account of what happened some time ago and in another place. Canova's concern for the development of a deeply pathetic theme was very alive. His early works were universally admired because they combined,

as one put it in a language of criticism now rarely heard, simplicity with a lyrical grace; and he now longed to exercise his genius in the development of a topic of dramatic grandeur.³²

Did Canova then, for the sake of strength, embrace brutality and deliberately contradict the lesson of decorum which the very works he was using as his texts were demonstrating?

Everything we know about the man and the artist points in another direction. It is far more likely, I think, that he hoped he could find a way to contain these dreadful scenes within the musical order of a work of art and yet represent them truthfully. Since the subjects are so terrible the beauty of the representation must also be very great. The contrasts to be reconciled would therefore be immense and the need for the artist's passionate commitment and keen thoughtfulness be as great as his risk of failure. Canova, in other words, faced with quixotic deliberation the challenge to represent an action which by its very nature terrorizes or disgusts the beholder with such art that the work would inspire pity and fear instead, and would move him with its beauty.

In the relief (fig. 11), Canova relies greatly on the stylization of his perspective. It is more starkly "Greek" (in the manner of red-figured vase painting) than most of his other works in relief. And by this device an immediate aesthetic distance is imposed upon the work. Within the frame of perspective from out of time (which at the same time may be regarded as appropriate to the subject) the terror of the scene is, however, fully alive and at once intensified and transformed to pathos by the sweet innocence of the victims, by the hope against hope that Hercules may yet respond to the hapless appeals made to him and, lastly, by the serene composure

of the statue of Zeus, a sign at once of his eternal calmness and his distance.

The effect of the work still stands or falls, I believe, with the success of the representation of Hercules who must be recognized as the supreme victim of the action. Our response will probably depend on our willingness or our ability to become engaged in a program which, when it is taken altogether seriously, is extraordinarily demanding, and when not, is nothing.

The same may, perhaps, be said about the colossal Hercules and Lichas, except that here, for better or worse, the impact upon the viewer is naturally more overwhelming.

We are in the fortunate position of having several visual documents which allow us to see how Canova, who spent many years on the work, proceeded in its refinement. To trace the genesis of the work will, of course, not necessarily help us to decide whether it is a success or a failure, but it should help us to comprehend better the direction and the worthiness of the artist's purpose in fashioning the group.

Canova received the commission for the work from Onoratio Gaetani, the major-domo of the King of Naples, in 1795.³³ It was agreed from the outset that it would be as high as the *Hercules Farnese* and the Queen of Naples assured Canova that he could choose any public place in Naples in which to erect the group.³⁴ The choice of the subject, which may already have occupied him for some time, evidently was Canova's.³⁵

The first record we have of Canova's work on the project is a drawing dated, in Canova's own hand, October 19th, 1795. It is inscribed "e si vede che sono stato per tre mesi e piu fuori d'esercizio", : 'You can see that I have not practiced for over three months.'³⁶ (fig. 12).

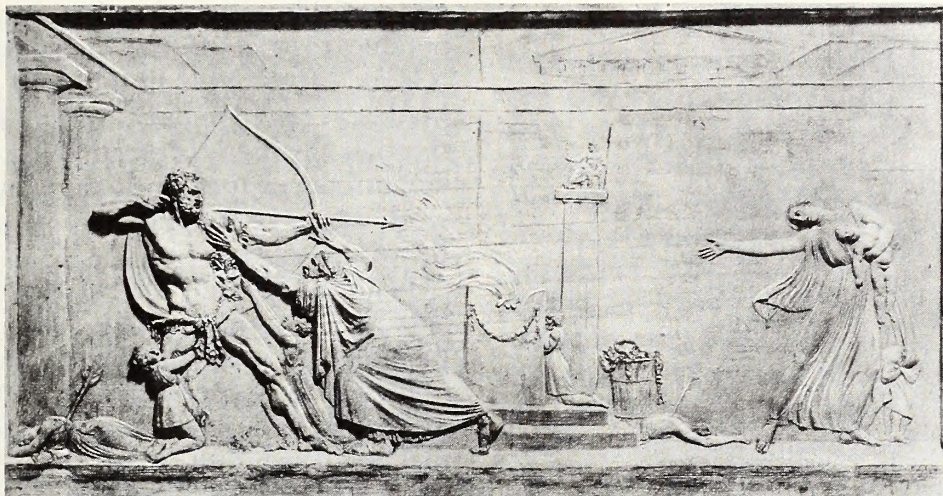


Fig. 11

Antonio Canova
The Madness of Hercules
Plaster,
Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possagno
Photo by Alinari

The Hercules is a drawing from life, carefully done in ink. The pose already is that given to him in the finished work. It repeats, in a variation appropriate to the subject, a standard "attitude" of the body in violent action which is frequently encountered in Greek art.³⁷ Canova's interest, however, is bent on the recording of the facts of the nude body before him. Quite in keeping with academic practice he hoped to arrive at the likeness of figures better than life by an accurate observation and an eventual refinement of what he could see in the model. In the drawing before us Canova is chiefly concerned with the study of the muscles (the very element which in the *Hercules Farnese* is not represented in an exemplary fashion), including those governing the frown which the model was made to affect. The "attitude" of Hercules is already taken for granted.

Lichas, of course, cannot have been posed, and the basic forms of the altar and the lion's skin on the ground are sketched in lightly in pencil to complete the overall view of the work.³⁸ All action seems to be compressed into a basically triangular relief and the effect, in spite of all the naturalism of the drawing, is severely and obviously intentionally classical.

We can see, however, by looking at our newly purchased bronze group which, in the original clay, must have been made within a fairly short time after the completion of the drawing,³⁹ that this severity of form is but one aspect of the plan of the work. (figs. 1 and 4-8)

The bronze is primarily a study of the progress of the action of Hercules and Lichas. It is filled with the strength and the immediacy of nature and communicates,



Fig. 12

Antonio Canova
Hercules and Lichas
 Drawing (dated 19, Oct. 1775)
 Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa
 Photo by Gabinetto Fotografico dello Stato,
 Rome

at a glance, the immensity of the great circular motion which brings the work to life—and Lichas to his death. Hercules swings the hapless youth, who is trying to hold on to the lion's skin and to the altar, forward, towards us. In a moment he will be hurled forth, with terrible momentum, into the far distance to Hercules' left.⁴⁰

The view offered by the drawing is destined to remain what may be called the principal view of the work, even in the so fluidly sculptured bronze. (figs. 12, 1). It sets the stage for the comprehension of the whole. Its keenly articulated "Greek" relief form suggests importantly that we are looking at a work of art, a "composition," a mere image or a monument of the terrible act—but not at the act itself. The

effect of this view is, in other words, comparable to that of the demonstratively "Greek" perspective in the relief of "The Madness of Hercules," (fig. 11). It is through this gate of abstraction that we are introduced to all the other views of the work which so dramatically show us the life of the action.

Naturalism, with all the terror that it here implies, and the strict formalism of the principal view complement each other—in such a fashion that the restraint of the classic form even enhances (by bestowing an element of theatrical perfection upon it) the veracity of the action in the round. The view which is particularly explored in the drawing seems to be standing still forever: a moment before the storm, banished into stone, and forever threatening to break loose. The bronze, seen in the round, is the tempest itself.

Canova continued to attach great importance to the representation of the immediacy of action in all the stages of his work. This is vividly demonstrated by a drawing dated July 8th, 1796, that is, some months after the sculpture was virtually completed.⁴¹ (fig. 13) Lichas is prone on the ground and Hercules, quite in keeping with Sophocles' text, holds him "by the foot, where the ankle turns in the socket."⁴² He is about to pull him forward, towards us, and then, when he will be raised in the air, will hurl him forth, in a motion going from his right to his left.

Canova made no use of this drawing; but it shows us that when he thought the problem through once more he reaffirmed the validity of the dynamic aspect of the work which is so well represented in the bronze.⁴³

We must therefore not think of the genesis of Canova's work (as a comparison of the bronze with a hasty view of the final marble might suggest to us) in the terms of a progress from "baroque" vividness to

classicistic formalism and stillness, but rather as a constant process of balancing formalism and naturalism in order to arrive at that happy combination of opposites which makes a work of art: truth to nature joined to a harmony of forms.

On April 2nd, 1796, Canova's full-length model of the "Hercules and Lichas" was completed in plaster.⁴⁴ It still exists and is now in the Academy in Venice, (fig. 14). A second cast, to all appearances identical, is in the Gipsoteca in Possagno.⁴⁵ (fig. 16). The work is now accurate in all its details. As far as the composition is concerned all changes increase and refine the tension between the initial stillness of the work and the pathos of its action. The representation of the character of the figures is heightened. Hercules is more like the *Hercules Farnese* and Lichas young, more like a boy than youth. The face of Hercules has gained in passionate intensity and strongly bears, in all of its living agony, also a likeness to a Greek tragic mask. Lichas' hand holds on to the lion's skin further up than in the bronze, and the face of the lion as the skin is being pulled up by Lichas' grip, assumes a certain likeness unto life and at the same time unto the grimness of death. The fluttering garments are eliminated. The fatal robe now is a thin veil which is shown as if it were a part of the body. In this way the majesty of the heroically nude body is accentuated and at the same time the work also becomes more literally true to the realism of the text:

"and the tunic clung to his sides, at every joint, close-glued, as if by a craftsman's hand; there came a biting pain that racked his bones; and the venom, as of some deadly, cruel viper, began to devour him."⁴⁶

"Close-glued, as if by a craftsman's hand" also may be read to mean that the

robe clung to Hercules' body so that it looked like a certain kind of clinging drapery ("wet drapery") on antique statues such as the Nike of Samothrace in the Louvre. TEKTON, craftsman, certainly also means sculptor.⁴⁷ Canova, in other words, responded to what he took to be Sophocles' appeal to the sculptor's art and turned his image into fact. The robe is certainly an essential element in the story. But it also disturbs its full development in the nude, which was regarded as the proper form of the heroic style. The use of the "wet drapery" at once did justice to the facts of the story and to the requirements of the sculptor's art.⁴⁸

For many years the great plaster model remained unused in Canova's studio. The fortunes of war had made it impossible for the original patron to redeem his promise. It was not until 1811 that Canova obtained another commission for the work, from the Marchese Torlonia.⁴⁹



Fig. 13

Antonio Canova
Hercules and Lichas
Drawing (dated 8, July 1776)
Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa
Photo by Gabinetto Fotografico dello Stato,
Rome

Antonio Canova
Hercules and Lichas
 Model in plaster
 Accademia di Belle Arti, Venice
 Photo by Gabinetto Fotografico dello Stato,
 Rome



Fig. 14

Canova was then no longer quite satisfied with the work as it was. In a letter to Quatremère he tells him in moving terms how heavily this new task is weighing on him.⁵⁰ In 1812 (or 1815) the marble was finished and brought to the Palazzo Torlonia in Rome.⁵¹ Canova arranged its placement at the end of a gallery, in a wide niche, between two columns, again accentuating what we have called its principal or stylized view. The niche was, however, deep enough and, it seems, invited the viewing of the work in the round.⁵²

The face of Hercules seems to have been the principal source of concern for Canova. In the final marble it is less contorted, still desperate in its suffering, but perhaps it now suggests grief or helplessness more than fury. The garment, even finer, thinner than before, is now, with greater plausibility, somewhat further extended over Hercules' body, and there is a wreath of flowers crowning the altar. (fig. 9)

After the demolition of the Palazzo Torlonia at the turn of the 19th century the group was transferred to the National

Gallery at the Palazzo Corsini, only to be moved again to Rome's Museum of Modern Art, where it still is.⁵³

It remains to be said that the size of the work is an important factor in the effect it has on the viewer. One can not see it completely except from a distance—and that of course is the view which accentuates the aesthetic distance. As one approaches the

work and walks around it and looks up to the ever new constellations of what one can see at one glance of this world larger than life in its tragic action one may be moved to contemplate the sorrowful and yet majestic history of Hercules as did Canova's friend, the writer Melchior Missirini in a poem he wrote in praise of "Hercules and Lichas:"⁵⁴



Fig. 15

Antonio Canova
Hercules and Lichas (rear view)
Model in plaster
Gipsoteca Canoviana, Possagno
Photo by Alinari

Come sul vertice d'Oeta ombrifero
 Volve le torbide setose ciglia!
 Già Lica investe e afferalo
 Ai piedi, e l'accapiglia:

E qual pieghevole ramo di frassino
 A lungo ei l'agita, e lo bilancia,
 E ne' marosi euboici
 Precipite lo slancia.

Ma già il famelico velen divoralo,
 Bolle ogni viscere, ogni osso crepita:
 Così nell'onde gelide
 Ferro rovente strepita.

O spirito indomito nato ai pericoli
 Cui lauri ornarono d'alte vittorie,
 Fia questo il nobil premio
 Di tue sudate glorie?

No: sol per cingerti di spoglie eterree
 Tu soffrì i palpiti di tanta ambascia:
 Così colubro libico
 Le vecchie squamme lascia.

Chiuso in purpurea luce siderea
 Sui gradi empirei vedremti assidere
 E fra Polluce e Castore
 Le patere dividere.

Now he runs on Oeta's shade-giving
 summit
 long the precipice's dark,
 thirsty brink!
 Already Lichas is his; he grasps him
 By the feet and he holds him tight:

Like a pliable branch of the ash tree,
 Lengthwise he shakes him—now
 holds him in the balance
 And into the billows of the Euboean
 sea
 Headlong he thrusts him forth.

But already the ravenous poison
 devours him,
 His entrails boil up; his bones crackle;
 So, in the icy wave
 Sounds the uproar made by a red-hot
 iron.

Oh indomitable spirit, born to
 dangers
 Whom the laurels of high victories
 decorate,
 Was this the noble reward
 For your glorious labors?

No: only to be girded with ethereal
 spoils
 Do you suffer the throbs of so great a
 pain:
 Like the Libyan serpent
 Leaving behind her old scales.

Enveloped in the purple of siderial
 light
 On Empyrian heights we see you
 seated
 And with Pollux and Castor
 You share your cups.



Figs. 16
 and 17

Salvatore Passamonti
*Medal in Honor of Canova's Hercules
 and Lichas*
 Engraving from Milchior Missirini, *Della Vita
 di Antonio Canova*, Prato, 1824
 Photo by Gavinetto Fotografico dello Stato,
 Rome

NOTES

¹ The title of Leopoldo Cicognara's history of modern sculpture was *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Canova*, Prato, 1824. The first edition of the work (Venice, 1813) rashly had referred to the *secolo di Napoleone* as a terminal date. *Il secolo di Canova* seemed, on second thought, to be more lasting and, in any case, more worthwhile. Note also a coin struck in honor of Canova (by Francesco Puttinati) which shows, on one side the portrait of Canova, and on the reverse bears the inscription *il secolo decimo nono*. For a reproduction see the folding plate in Melchior Missirini, *Della Vita di Canova*, Prato, 1824.

² On the subject of this statue cf. especially B. F. Williams, "A Visit to Possagno," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, I, nos. 4-5, 1957-58, pp. 23-32. See also R. D. W. Connor, *Canova's Statue of Washington* (Publication of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 8), Raleigh, N.C., 1910, and Philipp Fehl, "Thomas Appleton of Livorno and Canova's Statue of George Washington," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin 1968, pp. 523-552 and plates 226-8. I should like to thank Mr. Ben F. Williams for the help he very generously gave me in my study of the materials pertaining to Washington's statue. I am also much obliged to Mr. Charles W. Stanford, who first recognized the importance of "Hercules and Lichas," for his continued assistance.

³ Missirini reports that this commission gave Canova more pleasure than any other and that in order to do justice to it ("per infiamarsi degnamente il core a quell' opera") he had read to him all of Carolo Botta's *Storia della guerra dell'indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America*, Paris, 1809, "quella che singolarmente descrive le magnanime azioni dell'eroe che voleva effigiarlo." [Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 411.] See also Canova's letter accepting the commission as quoted by Thomas Appleton (Fehl, *op. cit.*, p. 530) and Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1824, p. 302.

⁴ Canova's first idea for the work evidently was to represent Washington proffering the tablet, that is, to show him principally as the lawgiver of his nation. Cf. two drawings reproduced by Elena Bassi, *I Museo Civico di Bassano, I Disegni di Antonio Canova*, Venezia, 1959, pp. 169, 270. The plaster model for the statue which is preserved in the Gipsoteca Canoviana in Possagno bears the following inscription on the tablet: "Giorgio Washington al Popolo degli Stati Uniti 1796: Amici e concittadini . . ." Cf. Williams, *op. cit.*, plate 2 and Elena Bassi, *La Gipsoteca di Possagno: Sculture e Dipinti di Antonio Canova*, Venice, 1957, p. 237. The work in marble which was delivered to America appears not to have been inscribed. For details cf. Fehl, *op. cit.*, p. 548, n. 64.

⁵ Cf. Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 57. Characteristic American responses to the work are cited *ibid.* pp. 11, 54-5, 63-4. See also Fehl, *op. cit.*, p. 543, n. 6. For the tenor of European appreciations cf. especially Missirini, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-4. See also James Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, Edinburgh, 1833, vol. 2, pp. 80-81.

⁶ Cf. Ben F. Williams, "A Raleigh, Caroline du Nord," *L'Oeil*, November 1967, pp. 1-4 and the entry "The Second State House" in E. C. Waugh, *North Carolina's Capital, Raleigh*, 1967 pp. 60-63. See also Fehl, *op. cit.*, p. 543, n. 8.

⁷ Weisman and Leutze are responsible for the picture. The print (a lithograph) was made by Albert Newsam. It is dated (1840) and inscribed as follows: CANOVA'S STATUE OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON: As it appeared on the Pedestal, in the State House Rotunda, at Raleigh, North Carolina. A beautiful light falling from the Dome Window, upon the slab of marble, illuminates the whole statue. Lafayette is represented as viewing this masterly representation of his beloved General. Respectfully dedicated to the Legislature of North Carolina, BY J. WEISMAN." For contemporary reports of Lafayette's visit to the State Capitol cf. A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and*

1825; or *Journal of Travels, in the United States*, New York, 1829, vol. 2, p. 42, and Marshall De Lancey Haywood, "The Visit of General Lafayette to North Carolina in 1825," *American Historical Register*, New Series, vol. 1, no. 3, May 1897, pp. 184-5, which includes an account of the traditional identification of the young lady and the boy who are shown in Lafayette's company. See also Edgar Brandon, *A Pilgrimage of Liberty: A Contemporary Account of the Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette... as reported by the local newspapers*, Athens, Ohio, 1844, pp. 26-28, which contains a detailed report of Lafayette's reception at the State Capitol. It was, of course, a public event, (Lafayette, after an exchange of speeches was conducted to the statue by Col. William Polk), and not the intimate scene depicted in the print. There are some slight inaccuracies in the rendition of the interior of the new State Capitol which, probably, was not yet finished in all its details when the picture was made, and the likeness of the statue which was, after all, no longer available for copying. The head of Washington is not that of Canova's statue but appears to have been adapted from the portraits of Gilbert Stuart and Houdon. The pedestal is altogether a fanciful reconstruction. For details cf. Fehl, *op. cit.*, p. 548, n. 63. A better idea of the dimensions of the pedestal may be gained from the study of a small copy of the whole work in the Virginia Historical Society. On the material available for the reconstruction of the pedestal see *ibid.*, pp. 532-5.

⁸ Connor, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 60, and Fehl, *op. cit.*, plate 227, p. 543, n. 7.

⁹ Williams, *Bulletin*, p. 29. See also Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Canova's working procedure was to develop a statue through a series of sketches in clay (some of which might be cast in plaster for the sake of permanence) to a model in the full length of the projected marble. In the course of the work some of the sketches were either fired or cast in plaster so that the artist could plan his next steps unmolested by the difficulties which attend the preservation of a form made of clay. The full-length model would be finished in all of its detail and then be cast in plaster. Final corrections, if any were deemed necessary, would be made in the plaster which then became the model for the marble statue. The marble was reproduced from the cast with the help of the pointing apparatus, a device for defining distances mechanically. The artist would then go over the marble and give it its ultimate refinements. It was Canova's practice, however, to bring the plaster to a perfect completion. Like most of the masters of the Renaissance he disdained improvisation in marble. The process, on the whole, is an application of the working procedure requisite for bronze casting to the carving of marble. The method and its advantages are discussed in detail by Missirini, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-95, and

by Cicognara, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, pp. 108-9, 247-254. See also Rudolf Zeitler, *Klassizismus und Utopia*, Stockholm, n.d., (1954), pp. 124-28. An aquatint by Francesco Chiaruttini shows a view of Canova's studio with workmen engaged in plasterwork and the translation of a statue from plaster into marble in progress. For a reproduction and for additional comments on Canova's method, cf. Luigi Coletti's catalogue, *Mostra Canoviana*, Treviso, 1957, plate 2, and pp. 113-6. Many of the casts from which Canova's statues were made are collected in the Gipsoteca Canoviana at Possagno. On the history of the collection cf. Bassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

¹⁰On the recent developments cf. *The News and Observer*, Raleigh, N.C., April 19th, May 10th, 13th, and 26th, June 2nd, 20th, and 27th, July 4th and 8th, September 13th, 1967. See also Waugh, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹¹Cf. Connor, *op. cit.*, frontispiece. The cast was made under the supervision of the American sculptor F. W. Ruckstuhl, [*Ibid.*, p. 9, n.1.]

¹²The beginning of the second decade of the century still saw the publication of an elementarily old fashioned but solid "life" of Canova, Vittorio Malamani, *Canova*, Milan, 1911. On the changes of taste which affected the reputation of Canova as an artist cf. Luigi Coletti, "La fortuna del Canova, con una bibliografia," *Bollettino del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte*, Anno I, Fasc. IV-VI, Rome 1927, pp. 22-96. For an impressive review of the attitudes involved and a spirited discussion of the underlying causes, cf. Mario Praz, *Gusto Neoclassico*, 2nd ed., Naples, 1959, pp. 139-162. See also his summary entry in the *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 3, (1960), pp. 59-62, and his article "Canova non piace ai critici d'arte?", *Il Tempo*, November 1st, 1957.

¹³A harbinger of a renewed interest in the work of Canova is Elena Bassi's *Canova (I grandi artisti Italiani)*, Bergamo, 1943. A decisive turning point was the year 1957, the two-hundredth anniversary of Canova's birth. Note the *Mostra Canoviana* (Coletti, *op. cit.*, n. 10, *supra*), and a number of other exhibitions. The work of Anthony M. Clark and his catalogue, (*The Age of Canova: An Exhibition of the Neo-classic, held in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1 November - 15 December, 1957*) should be particularly cited because it advances the cause of Canova not only from the position of the historian but from that of a critic as well. All recent studies in the field are obligated to the pioneering work of Mario Praz, *Gusto Neoclassico*, 1st edition, Naples, 1939 (cf. also the 2nd edition, note, 13 *supra*).

¹⁴Canova was in London in November and early December, 1815, chiefly to give his opinion on the value of the Elgin Marbles, the purchase of which was then being considered by the British government. (The issue

was controversial.) Cf. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles, etc.* . . . London, 1816, and especially Canova's beautiful letter to the Earl of Elgin in praise of the marbles, *ibid.*, Appendix, p. xxiii. See also William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, London 1967, pp. 152, 226-8, 253. It was during that time that Lawrence painted Canova's portrait. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1816. Cf. Kenneth Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*, London 1954, p. 30. In May 1819 Lawrence went to Rome to paint Pope Pius VII and Cardinal Gonsalvi for the Prince Regent's collection of portraits of the allied monarchs and the military and political leaders who had been prominently active in the defeat of Napoleon (now in the Waterloo Gallery of Windsor Castle). He may have brought along Canova's portrait because it needed completion. (Lawrence frequently just painted the head of a sitter and merely sketched in the rest of the picture.) Canova sat for him again and sometime before December 22nd 1819, the date of Lawrence's departure from Rome, the picture was finished. We may assume that Lawrence also brought the likeness of Canova's face up to date. An unnamed writer in a letter dated Rome, 29th January 1820, says of this picture: "It is the head of Canova which he did in London entirely repainted. Its animation is beyond all praise. 'Per Baccho, che uomo è questo!' I heard Canova cry out when it was mentioned. Crimson velvet and damask, and gold, and precious marble and fur are the materials which he has worked up to astonishing brilliancy without violating good taste or the truth of nature. This painting is a present to His Holiness, and a noble one it is." [Ronald Gower, *Romney and Lawrence*, London, 1882, p. 67.] According to Kenneth Garlick, *loc. cit.*, the picture was presented to Canova himself by the Prince Regent. The picture is now in the Gipsoteca in Possagno. Garlick does not mention Lawrence's work on it in Rome. Note, however, the account given by Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, p. 267, and Douglas Goldring, *Regency Portrait Painter: The Life of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.* London 1951, p. 283. The picture in Raleigh (formerly in the Samuel Eckman Collection) is one of a number of replicas which Lawrence supplied at the request of English and Italian collectors. Unlike the replica described as characteristic by Garlick, (*loc. cit.*) the work in Raleigh is the same size as the painting in Possagno (91 x 71 cm.). It is in a far better condition of preservation than is the painting in Possagno. In the latter the marble columns behind Canova's chair can hardly be made out any more.

¹⁵ "Antonio Canova fu di bella persona, e d'abito magro e asciutto; ebbe bocca quasi risidente, ed occhi vivi, penetranti, che traevano all'aquilino: il

naso gli si componea con giusta misure: il color dell'aspetto tenea di un misto di verecondia e di pallore: la fronte avea egli serena ed ampia: tutta la faccia era modesta e composta alla comitanze e alla dolcezza: e la sua statura aggiustavasi in una media proporzione." Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 462. Note also Farington's entry in his diary December 3rd, 1815 "Lawrence said He thought the manners of Canova a pattern for an Artist, that he had modest but manly deportment. R. Smirke [Junr.] sd. that what English He does speak is remarkably pure and correct." Joseph Farington, *The Farington Diaries*, ed. James Greig, vol. 8, London, 1928, p. 49.

¹⁶ Quatremere de Quincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4.

¹⁷ Cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-8 (Kunsthalle) and N. K. Kosareva, *Canova: I ego proizvedeniva v ermitazhe*. Leningrad; 1961 pp. 9-10 and plates 14, 15. (Hermitage.) I am much obliged to Mr. Charles Stanford, who very kindly brought the Russian publication to my attention. The work in the Hermitage was exhibited in the *Mostra Canoviana* of 1957, and was described as a cast in bronze of the original sketch (bozzetto). Cf. Coletti, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹⁸ An exception must be made in the case of one detail. To hide Lichas' nakedness two otherwise useless straps appear to have been added to Lichas' dress before the group was cast in bronze. Zeitler's remark that Canova's original sketch may have shown the figures altogether in the nude (the garments possibly being additions of the bronze casters) must, I think, be rejected. [Cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, p. 128.] The position of Hercules' right arm would not make sense without the presence of Lichas' belt and garment. [Cf. fig. 7.] Hercules' garment, in turn, must be visible in some way if the work is to do justice to the story. (See also note 40, *infra*, on the technical function of some of the drapery, had the work been executed in marble in accordance with this sketch.) Another suggestion of Zeitler's, that the work may have come to Paris as a gift of Canova's to Quatremère de Quincy, I find very attractive. [Zeitler, *loc. cit.*] The very fact that Quatremère does not mention who the owner of the work is speaks for it. That Canova thought highly of the work is, of course, demonstrated by his signature on it. I do not think, however, that we need to assume with Zeitler that Canova, fearing that the original sketch might be lost in the transport from Rome to Paris, kept the original and made a replica (that is another original in clay) to be sent to Quatremère. There is no need for such a complication. If indeed Canova wanted a duplicate of his work—either to send or to keep—a plaster cast would have preserved its likeness better than a replica and it would not have taken any of Canova's time to produce it. Unless evidence to the contrary is found I think we may reasonably assume

that the work Quatremère described (and possibly owned) was either Canova's original clay model, preserved in the form of terracotta—as his text would lead us to believe—or a cast of it in plaster. Quatremère was, of course, not concerned with the material of the work he was describing but with the image it represents.

¹⁹ This is stated clearly by Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 138, and by Quatremère de Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 83. A legend on what might be called an authorized engraving of the work by P. Fontana (after a drawing by Giovanni Tognolli) reads “ ‘Per un de’ piedi il fueironde Alcide afferra e ecaglia Lica. . .’ Sofocle nelle Trachin. v. 792” and, as it were, invites the reader to recall or to look up the entire passage. Cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pl. 21. (On Canova's role in the publication of prints after his works cf. Quatremère de Quincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-60). Canova was fond of reading the ancient authors [in translation]; he also was in the habit of having their works read to him while he worked. Cf. Missirini, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-7 and Quatremère de Quincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60. See also Cicognara's introduction to *The Works of Antonio Canova in Sculpture and Modelling, Engraved in Outline by Henry Moses*, London, 1824, vol. 1, pp. xvi-xvii. Since there is no indication to the contrary we may safely assume that he himself selected the text upon which the work is based. That this was so is certainly taken for granted by his biographers. Canova may also have been influenced by the story of Hercules and Lichas as given by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 134-229.

²⁰ Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 748-800, transl. Thomas Francklin. *The Greek Tragic Theatre*, vol. II., London 1809, pp. 300-02. I chose this translation because of its date. For an excellent literal version cf. R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments, Part V, The Trachiniae*, Cambridge, 1892, pp. 114-121. Canova probably used the Italian translation of Francesco Boaretti, Venice 1791. [*Le Trachinie di Sofocle, ossia la Morte d'Ercole.*] The introduction to this translation contains the Latin version of Hercules' lament (*Trachiniae* 1047 f) given in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, book ii (“On Bearing Pain”) and two passages from Alexandro Pepoli's *La Morte d'Ercole*. The sense of the translation seems to be in keeping with the position indicated in note 24 *infra*.

²¹ *Trachiniae*, translation Francklin, p. 320.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 320. According to a probably more correct reading the last words of the play (from line 1264 on) are spoken by Hyllus and addressed to the chorus. Cf. Jebb, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3, 207.

²³ Jebb singles out line 1270 (literally translated): “No man foresees the future . . .” as the only hint of the apotheosis of Hercules in the play. The reference to the power of Jove in the last line of the play (“and in all this there is nought but Zeus,” transl. Jebb)

would, of course, only confirm this hint to the audience. Cf. Jebb, *op. cit.*, p. 182, note to lines 1270-74. Seneca's adaptation of the play, his *Hercules Oetaeus* elaborately clarifies the moral accomplishment of Hercules' last resolve and lets us witness his apotheosis. While critics often tend to see in his work a mere vulgarization of Sophocles, it is also possible to regard it—just because it simplifies the circumstances—as a guide to the better understanding of the moral dimensions of the *Trachiniae*. There is no question that Canova's interest in Hercules rose from the Renaissance tradition of Humanism which, in turn, owes so very much to Seneca's instruction. The glory of the character of Hercules, as it was apprehended by students of Greek art in Canova's time is best represented in Winckelmann's famous “Beschreibung des Torso im Belvedere zu Rom,” which was available in Italian (in a somewhat modified form, as a part of the translation of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*;) Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi*, Milan 1779. Note also the nobly conciliatory ending of Ovid's account of the death of Hercules, *Metamorphoses* ix, 229-72. In recent years the play has, of course, also been interpreted in the spirit of an existentialist manifesto. For a radically ungentle modern translation cf. *Sophokles, Women of Trachis: A Version by Ezra Pound*, New York, 1957.

²⁴ On the *Hercules Farnese* cf. Franklin P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, Durham, N. C., 1927, pp. 197-298.

²⁵ Quatremère de Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 83 (14 palmes). Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 138 (*quindici palmi*). The height of the *Hercules Farnese* is 2.99 meters. “Hercules and Lichas” is 3.50 meters high, that is, the height of the work corresponds to that of the *Hercules Farnese*, were he to assume the pose of Hercules in “Hercules and Lichas.” Allowance must also be made for the height of the piece of ground upon which Canova's Hercules is standing.

²⁶ On the restorations and their meaning cf. Seymour Howard, “Pulling Herakles' Leg,” *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin 1968, pp. 402-407, and plates 176-7.

²⁷ Cf. Euripides, *Hercules Furiens* and Seneca's work with the same title.

²⁸ The relief is in Possagno. Cf. Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, p. 139. For drawings cf. *ibid.*, p. 145 and *idem*, *Museo Civico*, illustrations pp. 30, 114, 207, and entry Fa 49, 963 (p. 112). There are also two paintings of the subject by Canova, *ibid.*, p. 290, no. 22. Some small sketches in the round in wax also have survived. Cf. Bassi, *Canova*, pl. 64. Beside the subjects here discussed, Canova also considered other events in the life of Hercules. Cf. Bassi, *Museo Civico*, pp. 73, 93, 133, probably not *Cacus*, as indicated by Bassi), 161, 252.

²⁹ Cf. Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, p. 146. Missirini mentions that Canova was engaged in painting a picture of this

subject in 1798. [*op. cit.*, pp. 128-131.] See also note 28, *supra*.

³⁰ It appears that as early as 1790 Canova generously helped the English sculptor John Flaxman who was engaged in the composition of a work which was very similar in character and scope, "The Fury of Athamas." Cf. Hugh Honour, "Antonio Canova and the Anglo-Romans, Part II, The First Years in Rome," *Connoisseur*, January, 1960, p. 230 and fig. 11. See also Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late 18th Century Art*, pp. 14-15. Quatremere de Quincy tells us that Canova, who liked to read for recreation, was in the habit of developing themes he read about into relief sculptures. They were, he suggests, lecture notes for him, and an exercise for his imagination. [*op. cit.*, pp. 90-91, 327-8.] See also Missirini, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-81. It is quite possible that his interest in the tragedy of Hercules came to be formed in this way.

³¹ Euripides, *Hercules Furiens*, lines 914-1000. Note also Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Canova probably was aware of the vivid description of a Greek painting of the Madness of Hercules by Philostratus (who refers to Euripides' play), but preferred to follow the play rather than the picture. Cf. Philostratus, *Imagines II* 23.

³² Cf. Quatremere de Quincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2 and Cicognara, *Storia VII*, p. 182.

³³ The commission was given on May 9th, the contract is dated May 19th, 1795. Cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 4.

³⁴ Cf. Gustavo Giovannoni, "L'Ercole e Lica" del Canova nella nuova sala della Galleria Nazionale al Palazzo Corsini," *Bulletino d'Arte*, vol. 2 (1908), p. 39. The interest in Naples in "matching" the *Hercules Farnese* with a work of modern art may have been spurred on by the fact that the Farnese collection (of which the Hercules was a piece of pride) had only a few years before been moved from Rome to Naples (1786).

³⁵ Cf. note 33 *supra*.

³⁶ Bassi, *Museo Civico*, pp. 82-3. Canova had been away from home on a trip to Venice. His comment means that he had not done any drawing from life in the time specified. There is no compelling reason to assume that this drawing is Canova's very first sketch of the group. It is (or seems to be) merely the first we have. Cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8. The drawing reproduced by Bassi, *Museo Civico*, p. 93, is mounted in the so-called Album D 2 together with other drawings dating from c. 1805 (*ibid.* p. 94) and seems to be more related to Canova's "Theseus and the Centaur" than to "Hercules and Lichas."

³⁷ Canova's most important examples probably were the *Dioscuri* on the Monte Cavallo in Rome. "Ma la

maggior ammirazione gli venne dai colossi del Quirinale, alla vista de'quali, com'ei dicea, senti rabbrivirti, e gli parvero fin d'allora sublimi canoni dell'arte; perche poi tutte le mattine in sull'albeggiare recandosi cola, e misurandoli, e disegnandoli, e meditando, contrasse da essi tal proporzione uegli occhi e nell' abito del disegno, che gli servi di guida in ogni sua opera posteriore." [Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 33.] See also Cicognara, *Storia*, vol. 7, pp. 223-4, and Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20. Canova used the elements of this pose also in three reliefs, "The Death of Priam," "Cain and Abel," and "Abraham and Isaac." [Cf. Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, plates 76, 277, 315] and in two monumental works, "The Pugilist Creugas," and "Theseus and the Centaur," (*ibid.*, plates 24 and 164). On the Creugas and its sources see also Philipp Fehl, "A Statuette of the Pugilist Creugas by Antonio Canova," *Register of the Museum of Art of the University of Kansas*, June 1958, pp. 13-24.

³⁸ It was Canova's practice first to sketch in a figure very lightly and carefully in pencil and then to complete the work in ink. In the case of this drawing he must have finished the Hercules in ink before he added the elements in pencil which are noted in the text. On Canova's drawing technique cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-24 and Bassi, *Museo Civico*, *passim*. Since the position of Lichas could not possibly be posed in the life (or at least not for any length of time) the anatomically correct execution of this figure in the finished work was singled out for special praise. Cf. Missirini, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

³⁹ It must have been made sometime before April 2nd, 1796, when the full-length model of the work was cast in plaster. Cf. note 43, *infra*. A poem in praise of the "Hercules and Lichas" by Godefroy which, according to Missirini (*op. cit.*, p. 140), appeared in the *Mercure de France* on the 10th of Brumaire of the year II of the French Republic (that is November 1793), might well be associated with the bronze sketch or its original, which indeed would then be our earliest record of Canova's work on the subject, but Missirini must have been in error. I could find no trace of the poem in the *Mercure de France* between 1793 and 1796. Any later general reference to the work would be of no consequence in an effort to date the sketch precisely. On November 7th, 1795, Canova writes to Count Tiberio Roberti: "... Lavoro certamente con vero piacere nel modello dell' Ercole e spero che non abbia a riuscire male . . ." [Zeitler, *op. cit.*, p. 247.] It is tempting to assume that Canova here speaks of the very model of which we have the cast in bronze.

⁴⁰ Lichas, in the *Trachiniae*, is not particularly characterized as a youth. It is merely stated that he is acting as a messenger. Canova may have justly considered

him a runner and, perhaps, have recalled in this connection two famous bronze statues of boys running, in the Museo Nazionale in Naples (Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, Paris 1930, vol. I pp. 525, 527.) A marble group from the Farnese collection, sometimes called "Hector and Troilus" (also in Naples, Reinach, *op. cit.*, vol. I p. 483) shows a heroic figure carrying a dead boy over his right shoulder. The boy is stretched out in pose rather like that of Lichas and the group has very plausibly been connected with Canova's work by Zeitler, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 4. See also Rosenblum, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Most important for Canova was, no doubt, the development of the pathos of the scene in the terms of the contrast between the lithe, youthful body of Lichas and the gigantic, muscular form of Hercules. A number of drawings dated July 1796 show us that Canova at that time drew, in various combinations, two models whose forms corresponded to these two types. Cf. the drawings reproduced by Bassi, *Museo Civico*, pp. 83-85. W.E. au mpte a.sp at tjos -pomt tjat the work represents quite a complicated technical problem in the management of sculpture in marble. The bronze sketch already shows how Canova intends to introduce the necessary support for the heavy masses of stone which will bear down on the far flung out legs of Hercules. The back view and the detail of the head of Lichas, (figs. 7, 6), make it clear that the altar is introduced as a kind of post to support the whole work. The principal connections between it and the body of Hercules are made very cleverly by the forehead and the hair of Lichas, Lichas' right arm and lion's skin. The fold of Lichas' skirt is connected with Hercules' right arm the better to distribute the weight of the daringly perforated upper part of the marble. The great wave at the end of Hercules' fatal garment not only shows the contrast in the character of the cloth where it has already eaten into the body of Hercules and where it still is unattached, but it also acts, in the front view, as a convenient foil to advance the illusion

that Hercules' leg is merely in front of the lion's skin and the arm of Lichas, and not attached to them. In the final version Canova makes the garment transparent and lets it cling to the body, but it is folded over in the rear and imperceptibly merges with the altar and the flames upon it to form the necessary link. Lichas is now altogether in the nude and Hercules' fist which grasps him by the hair establishes a new link between the masses above and the support of the altar. The shift of the position of Hercules' right arm makes the impact of the action even more enormous than in the bronze. At the same time it contributes (by providing a new anchorage point) to the greater mechanical stability of the work.

⁴¹The date is recorded on the drawing, in Canova's own hand. Cf. Bassi, *Museo Civico*, p. 85.

⁴² Translation Jebb, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁴³ It is particularly easy to be misled by photographs of the finished work. Because of its size a completely stationary view of it can only be obtained from a distance and the favorite photograph is, of course, that which offers what we have called the "principal view" of the work. The bronze at Raleigh which may be encompassed at a glance remains the best guide to what one really sees when one walks about the work in marble at Rome. On the difficulties offered by photographs of the work, cf. also Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Canova's letter to Catarina Bertendis Renier, [Malamani, *op. cit.*, p. 59, and Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, p. 109]

⁴⁵ Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, pp. 167-8. The cast was probably made in connection with the commission of 1811 for the execution of the work in marble. Cf. notes 49 to 51, *infra*.

⁴⁶ Translation, Jebb, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, note to lines 767 ff. Jebb doubts this interpretation but, of course, that does not mean that it could not have intrigued Canova. I am, furthermore, not convinced that Jebb's doubts are justified. The splendor of Greek sculpture at the time of Sophocles was new enough to make the reference a timely tribute to the success of the sister art. Even today we persist in describing perfection in nature, when we find it or think that we have found it, as being "like a picture."

⁴⁸ Missirini, [*op. cit.*, pp. 139-40], justly takes Cicognara to task for having considered the robe, in the name of the ideality of Greek sculpture, a negligible accessory of the work. See also the justification of the nudity of Hercules offered by Quatremère de Quincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 8709.

⁴⁹ Cf. especially Giovannoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. In 1797 after the battle of Magnano near Verona, in which the Austrians inflicted a defeat on the French, it was proposed to erect the group of Hercules and

Lichas as a monument in honor of the emperor Francis II on one of the public squares of Verona. Canova wished to place the work on a pedestal not higher than four or five feet, with reliefs on its sides. Canova is supposed to have observed at the time that French visitors to his studio used to liken Hercules to the French nation and Lichas to the monarchy, but now Hercules could well stand for Austria and Lichas for lawless liberty. [Reported in Luigi Callari, *I Palazzi di Roma*, Rome, 1944, p. 513.] We may, perhaps, believe that Canova thought the ravages of war, disorder and terror which befell the civilized world in consequence of the French revolution were comparable to the maddening pain of Hercules; and the revolts against the French occupations and the attempted war of liberation to his desperate fury. On the reliefs Francis II would then have appeared as a great healer, the father of his nations, who brings the world back from chaos to tranquility, law, and order. The hopes one entertained for the peace of a new Europe which would emerge from these terrible times and the image of the apotheosis of Hercules, purified and reborn after his ultimate trials, may be connected naturally enough. Nothing came of the matter because Francis declared he did not wish to have a monument, probably more for political reasons than from modesty or a sensation that it was not really flattering to be associated with the image of a raving Hercules. Cf. Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, p. 109. On Canova's response to the French revolution and its possible relation to the origins of "Hercules and Lichas," cf. Zeitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8.

⁵⁰ "In questi giorni me metterò all' Ercole. Oh che lavoro! Oh che male, quanto sudore me costerà, e quanta fatica! Non vedo l'ora d' esserne fuori; che veramente me pare d'aver un peso insupportabile, se

non finisco ancor questo a dirittura, dopo tanti anni d'aver lo modellato." The letter is dated February 11th, 1812. Cf. Quatremère de Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 383. See also the letter of December 11th, 1811, *ibid.* p. 381.

⁵¹ The date given by Giovannoni [*op. cit.*, p. 41.] is 1812. Missirini, [*op. cit.*, p. 503] and Cicognara, [*Storia*, vol. 7, p. 260] name 1802, which is manifestly false. According to Giovannoni, [*op. cit.*, p. 40] the model in plaster was then exhibited to the public in Canova's studio in Rome. See also the date of Canova's letter to Quatremère de Quincy, note 50, *surpa*. 1815 is now the generally accepted date. Cf. e. g. Bassi, *Gipsoteca*, p. 41. Note, however, that Missirini's poem celebrating the work is dated 1813. Cf. note 54, *infra*.

⁵² A modified reconstruction of the placement of the work in the Palazzo Torlonia is offered by Giovannoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-45. Stendhal's description of a reception and ball at the Palazzo Torlonia very subtly recreates the silence of the immense group in marble in the midst of people engaged in ballroom conversation. He also informs us incidentally that Canova himself arranged the placement of lights and mirrors in the room to set off the statue to advantage. Cf. Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, Paris, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 194-8, and notes (on Stendhal's sources).

⁵³ On the transfer to the Palazzo Torlonia cf. Giovannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁵⁴ Melchior Missirini, *Sui marmi di Antonio Canova*, Venice, 1817, "Ercole e Lica," stanza 7-12. The poem is reprinted in its entirety by Giovanni Fallani, *Melchiorre Missirini, il segretario di Canova*, Rome, 1949, pp. 32-3. Its date (1813) is given on p. 32. The poem and some of Missirini's similes are based on Ovid, ... *Metamorphoses* ix 134-272.

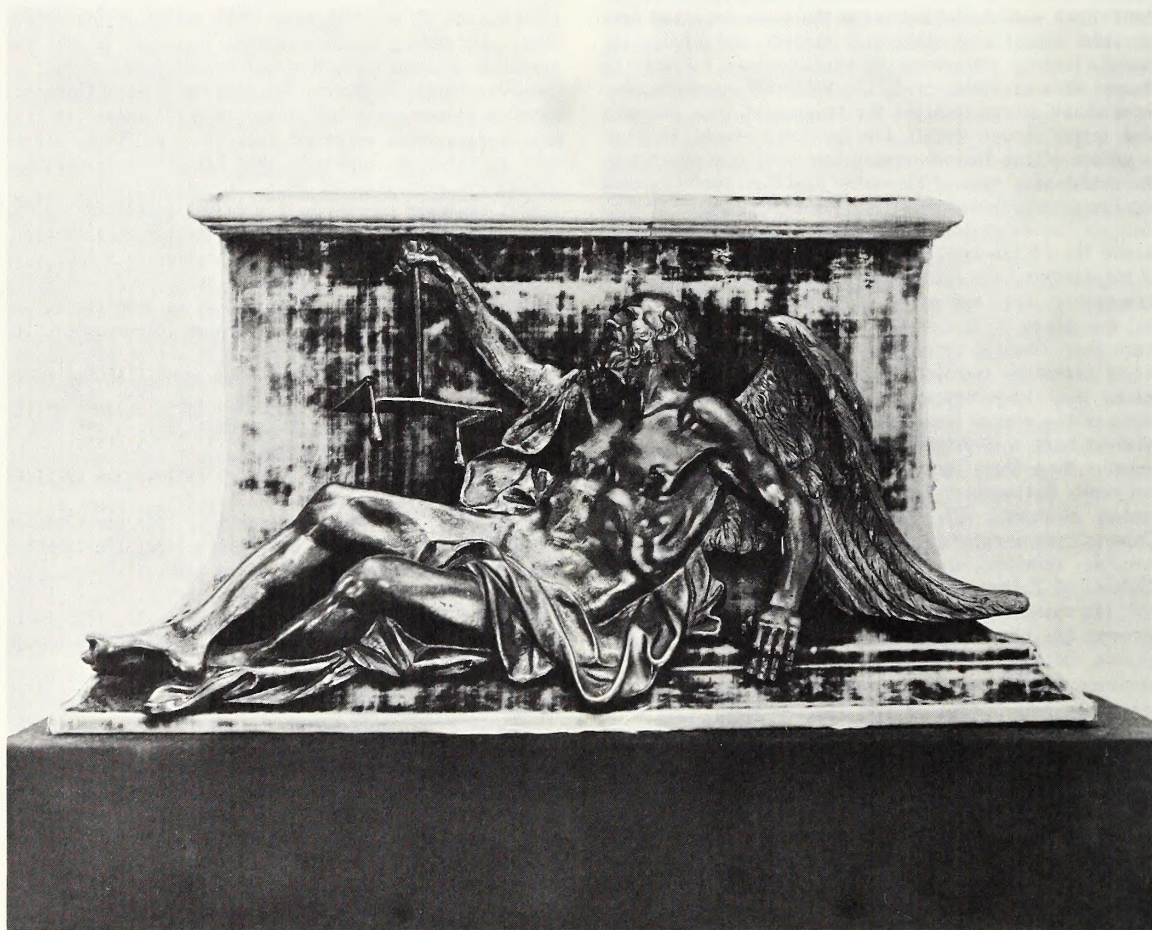


Fig. 1

School of Bernini (Italy, 17th cent.)

Saturn Plaque

Bronze; 9" x 18¼"

Gift of Mr. William Wilson, New York, to
NCMA

Amor Vincit Tempus

by Marilyn Caldwell

The Warburg Institute
London, England

Among the fine collection of small bronzes in the North Carolina Museum of Art is a handsome relief figure of the ancient mythological god *Saturn*,¹ a figure more commonly recognized as the familiar winged and bearded representation of Father Time. As he is shown today (fig. 1) this figure is placed upon the ledge of a faded velvet pedestal, where he balances himself with his left arm while with his right he holds aloft an antique scale—a poignant reminder that “Time weighs all things.” The figure thus immediately invites an allegorical interpretation, and a closer consideration reveals his suitability as a personification of Time. Poised between sitting and reclining, between rising and relaxing, this *Saturn* suggests the ever-changing nature of Time in the very uncertainty of his posture and the indecision of his expression. He is winged, for “Time flies;” his balding, bearded head is old and his form seems weary with the weight of years, for he is “as old as Time,” yet his nude body is strong and youthful, for it is Time himself who “renews all things.”

Like all successful works of art, this small bronze form assumes a greater vitality and presence the longer we look at it

and muse upon it—until, at length, we marvel at the poetic sensibility, at the design and the craftsmanship which have transformed a piece of metal into a melancholy and haunting intimation of mortality. By virtue of a sensitive interpretation of the visual image of Father Time this piece demonstrates much of the versatility and beauty of the bronze-caster’s art,² although it is clearly not a free-standing statuette and thus must have been originally cast for a role in some greater design or drama. As it happens it is possible to identify exactly this figure’s original place and meaning—and, moreover, to trace his descent from a grandly frescoed palazzo above the shimmering lagoons of Venice to the elegant, dustfree *salons* of eighteenth century France. The Raleigh *Saturn* is the memorable result of the gentle transformation of an appealing visual allegory.

An identical counterpart of this *Father Time* is found on the base of a French bracket clock in the Wallace Collection, London (fig. 2). When the figure is seen in this position both its design and modeling are immediately explained—the length of the bronze conforms exactly to the base of the clock, just as its width is exactly accommodated to the shelf upon which it is placed. We see why *Father Time* has only one wing (and why it is carefully finished on both sides); likewise we under-

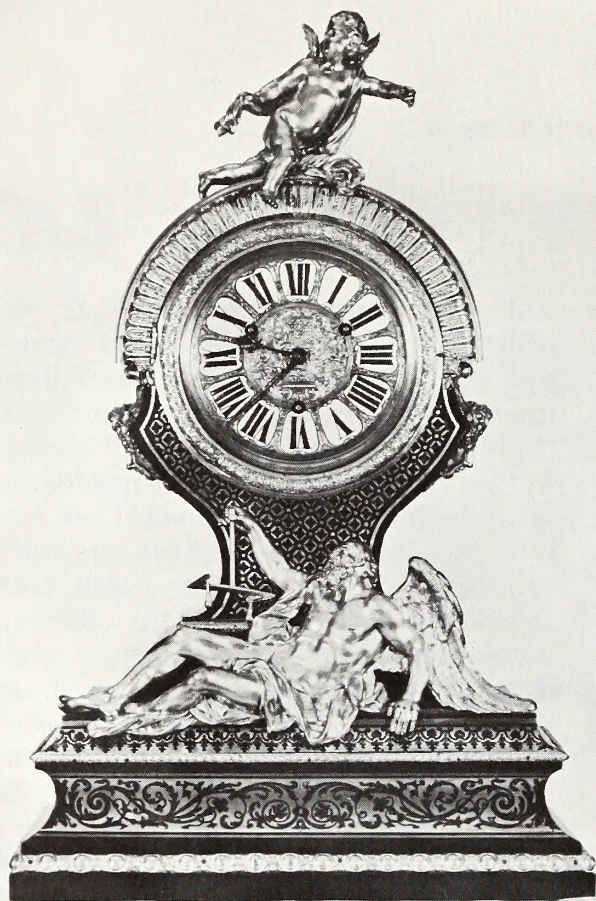


Fig. 2

Martinot (works), Boulle (case)

Bracket Clock

35" x 22¼" x 9½"

Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of
the Wallace Collection

stand why his left arm and leg are fully rounded, while at the same time his right thigh and his elevated right arm and even the right side of his face have been cast as thin, flat forms. A highly skilled designer has carefully adapted the figure of *Saturn* into a poetical ornament to beautify a functional piece of furniture.

There is, however, yet more to this clock than its useful service of telling the hour or even *Saturn's* appropriate, melancholy reminder that all things are weighed

in the balance of Time. For he is not the only figure adorning this graceful, elegant timepiece. Gaily astride the top of the clock is a chubby, rambunctious gilt bronze *Cupid*, his left arm outstretched as if holding something, his head cocked in a mischievous glance backward over his right shoulder. In contrast to the heavy weariness of *Father Time*, this fully rounded *Cupid* seems on the verge of flitting playfully away—off, presumably, to some new amorous adventure. Obvious-

ly, an allegorical relationship between these two figures is intended: Cupid, the delightful, meddling, unpredictable god of Love is placed above the clock and beyond Time's reach. This exasperating, adorable creature whose tampering in our lives takes us beyond all awareness of Time, who gives us the means to escape Time's wearisome captivity, is, in the final counting of our hours, triumphing over Time.

In such delightful suitability Cupid and Saturn frequently appear on eighteenth century French clocks. The particular mounts illustrated in Fig. 2 are several times repeated (see for example Fig. 3),³ and there are numerous other examples of variations on the same theme.⁴ Light-hearted and poetic, the visual conceit of Love over Time was ideally suited to the taste of the age (see Fig. 4), as were the finely wrought mythological figures which personified it. The North Carolina Museum of Art is fortunate to have, exemplary of this refined French taste, a *Saturn* from the workshop of the greatest of all the cabinet makers, or *ébénistes*, who created the elegant furniture of the style of Louis XIV,⁵ the talented artist and craftsman André Charles Boulle (1642-1732). Boulle was the imaginative innovator who popularized the gilt bronze mounts of mythological figures and who gave his name to "Boulle marquetry," the elaborate inlays of tortoise shell and engraved brass which one finds on the finest ebony veneered furniture of the *Grand Siècle*.⁶ (The clock case in Fig. 2 is an excellent example of this exquisite marquetry.) For well over half a century, Boulle's artistic presence presided supreme in the richest rooms of the noblest buildings in France and the courts of Continental Europe.⁷



Fig. 3

Thuret (works), Boulle (case)

Pedestal Clock

39½" x 19" x 12½"

Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of
the Wallace Collection



Fig. 4

Jean François de Troy
The Garter (1724)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles
Wrightsman

Like all popular styles, Boulle furniture rapidly sponsored numerous imitators, and it is often extremely difficult to identify a particular piece as a definite product of the Boulle workshop,⁸ even though it may seem to bear every indication of Boulle workmanship. Regarding the bracket clock of fig. 2, we may with certainty date it for the backplate is inscribed "Martinot aux Galleries du Louvre 1726,"⁹ indicating that the works came from the Martinot family workshop in the privileged royal precinct of the Louvre. Since Boulle, too, had office, lodging, and workshop in the Louvre, the likelihood of collaboration between clockmaker and master *ébéniste* is quite high. Fortunately, however, our speculation need not end with likelihoods, because there exists a drawing¹⁰ by Boulle himself which proves that the clock has been made according to his design.¹¹ Not only does this drawing testify to Boulle's designing hand behind the clock and its bronze mounts, it also clarifies further the original allegory of the Cupid/Father Time motif. For in the drawing Cupid's outstretched left hand is indeed holding something—a large scythe which curves back over his head, its handle extending down behind his left leg. Surely Cupid has just stolen this scythe from Father Time, and is at this moment triumphantly fleeing away with his new prize. To our allegory is thus added the interpretation that Love is superior even to that last, most terrible and inexorable movement of Time, his activity as the "Grim Reaper." Love, the thief of Time, has, with a laugh, stolen his scythe—and perhaps will return to steal his scales as well.

This, at least, is the motif of a sixteenth century chiaroscuro woodcut of *Cupid and Saturn* (fig. 6) by Ugo da Carpi¹² (c. 1480-1523) which must have inspired Boulle in his design for the clock.¹³ In

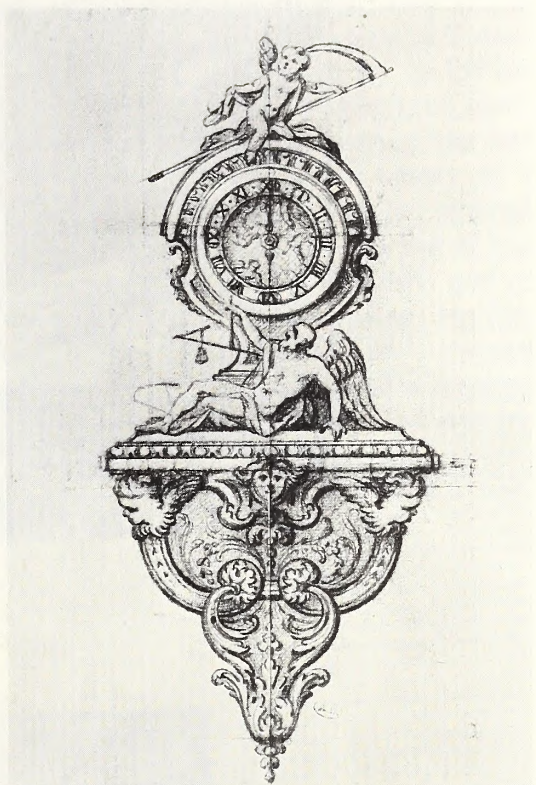


Fig. 5

André Charles Boulle
Design for a Clock
Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris

the woodcut Saturn is pictured in a posture very similar to Boulle's drawing and hence to the cast bronze figures of fig. 1 and fig. 2; he is, however, a more muscular figure, and his head is turned farther to the right, so that he looks directly over



Fig. 6

Ugo da Carpi
Cupid and Saturn
 Chiaroscuro woodcut
 Photo courtesy of the Warburg Institute

his right shoulder at a small figure of Cupid who is trying to take the scales from his raised right hand. Unquestionably this woodcut was the source for Boullé's design, and it is equally certain that the source for this woodcut¹⁴ was a brilliant Venetian fresco which excited much wonder and admiration¹⁵ among the populace in the days when Venice was undisputed Queen of the Adriatic. The fresco was a grand and lively assortment of popular subjects from classical history and mythology on the facade of the Palazzo d'Anna, (fig. 7),¹⁶ a palatial show-place built along the Grand Canal by an influential Flemish merchant,¹⁷ and the

artist whose frescoes so pleased his contemporaries was Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone (1484?-1539). In the early years of the sixteenth century he was acclaimed the chief rival of Titian,¹⁸ surely a difficult honor, but one which brought to him such important commissions as the Palazzo d'Anna and won him praiseful comparisons with Michelangelo.¹⁹ The damp fog of the lagoons has long since destroyed his admired frescoes, but we may, perhaps, discover some of the monumentality of his painting in the woodcut printed by da Carpi and the bronze designed by Boullé.

Yet just as no two actors ever interpret the same role in the same way, so no two artists ever exactly repeat the same image—and Boulle's *Saturn*, though descended from these Italian forefathers, remains withal a handsome example of the *ébéniste's* great skill and artistry. There is, in fact, much discussion about just how great a part the designs of other artists may have played in Boulle's works,²⁰ especially in his designs for bronze mounts. He had a famous and praiseworthy collection of prints and drawings²¹ from which he might have drawn innumerable motifs, but only occasionally is it possible to trace one of his designs back to such a certain source as da Carpi's *Cupid and Saturn*. And here it is thus particularly interesting that Boulle has directly adapted the figure of Saturn to fit the base of his clock, while

giving Cupid an action very different from that which he performs in the woodcut, where he reaches teasingly toward Time's scales. On Boulle's clock Cupid has undertaken a far greater feat; he has stolen Time's deadly scythe, and this new action completely changes the meaning of Time's gesture. No longer does he try to lift his scales beyond the reach of playful Cupid; now, in his anguished discovery of the loss of his scythe, he raises his scales as a warning to Cupid that even his actions will be weighed by Time. But the threat seems a vain one, for the sprightly god of Love will soon be out of hearing. He flits away, across the top of Boulle's elegant clock, joyfully in keeping with a popular proverb: *Amor vincit Tempus*—Love triumphs over Time.

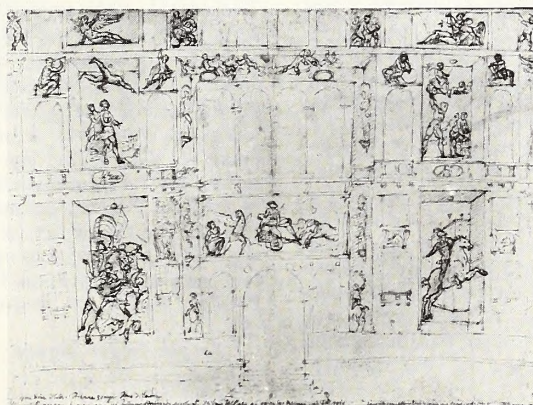


Fig. 7 16th century drawing
The Façade of the Palazzo d'Anna, Venice:
Victoria and Albert Museum. Crown
copyright.

NOTES

¹This bronze was a gift to the museum from Mr. William Wilson of New York and has been part of the collection since 1957. It has formerly been identified as a seventeenth century Italian work from the school of Bernini. *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), p. 22.

²Small bronze statuettes were highly regarded collectors' pieces from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Originating as scaled down copies of antique statues, these statuettes rapidly evolved into a skillful and imaginative art form, greatly appreciated by learned connoisseurs for qualities of design, technique, and sensitive detailed finishing. For an appreciative general survey of the subject see Jennifer Montagu, *Bronzes*, New York, 1963.

³The Wallace Collection *Furniture Catalogue*, compiled by F. J. B. Watson, 1956, notes (pp. 18-19) the fact that other examples of these mounts may be seen on clocks in the Louvre and the Palais de l'Élysée at Paris, at Versailles, at Windsor, and "elsewhere." Within the Wallace Collection there is a pedestal clock (fig. 3) with bronze mounts of Cupid and Saturn which vary only slightly from those of the bracket clock in fig. 2, and the same figures appear again on a clock in a painting by J. F. de Troy, *The Garter*, 1724 (fig. 4). Of particular interest is a reference to a similar clock which was in the Hertford-Wallace Collection in Paris; on this clock the figure of Saturn had been replaced by flanking figures of Astronomy and Architecture. It is probable that such a replacement explains the current independence of the Raleigh *Saturn*.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19, *passim*. Three typical examples from the Wallace Collection: No F 92, a cartel clock by Charles Cressent (1685-1768); No. F 98, a mid-eighteenth century *régulateur* clock; and No. F 264, a mantel clock from the late eighteenth century. (All illustrated in the *Furniture Catalogue*.)

⁵The standard works on French seventeenth and eighteenth century furniture remain the volumes compiled by two distinguished connoisseurs of the last century: Lady Emilia F. S. Dilke, *French Furniture and Decoration in the XVIIIth Century*, London, 1901, and Émile Molinier, *Le Mobilier au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1897. The Wallace Collection *Furniture Catalogue*, 1956, contains an excellent general survey of French furniture (pp. ix-lxiv), as well as detailed descriptions of particular pieces and brief biographies of important craftsmen.

⁶Boulle's great contributions to the form and style of seventeenth and eighteenth century French furniture are discussed in the works cited above (n. 5). For a more specialized study see Henry Havard, *Les Boulles*, Paris, 1893.

⁷Molinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff. draws a comparison between Boulle and Le Brun as the two artists whose work overshadowed all others in the reign of Louis XIV. Boulle's most celebrated achievement was the decoration of the *grand cabinet* of the Dauphin at Versailles (1681-83); from this time onwards until his death in 1732 at the age of ninety he received a continual flow of commissions from noble and aristocratic patrons in France, Germany, and Spain. Unfortunately none of the rooms which he decorated exist intact today, but an interesting reconstruction of such a *salon* has been made by Hans Huth, "A Regency Interior by Boulle," *Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII (1936), pp. 185-191.

⁸Boulle never signed his works. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰In the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris. Published by Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Parmigianino and Boulle," *Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII (1936), pp. 287-88.

¹¹The only significant modification of the design in the finished clock is that a decorative triangular plaque

supporting the base of the clock (and hence making it a wall clock) has been discarded. So far as is known, no such wall clock was ever made. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

¹² Adam Bartsch, *Le Peinteur Graveur*, vol. XII, p. 125, no. 27. This woodcut is a fine example of the "chiaroscuro" technique perfected by da Carpi (a print is produced from two or more blocks using different shades of ink). For further information see Luigi Servolini. "Ugo da Carpi," *Rivista d'Arte*, XI (1929), pp. 173-94; 297-319.

¹³ Lunsingh Scheurleer, *loc. cit.*, draws attention to the relationship between da Carpi's woodcut and Boulle's design. However, following Bartsch, he mistakenly identifies da Carpi's *Cupid and Saturn* as "after Parmigianino." (See n. 14, *infra*)

¹⁴ In "Pordenone—and not Parmigianino," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIV (1939), p. 91, E. Tietze-Conrat proves that da Carpi's woodcut was derived from Pordenone's decoration of the Palazzo d'Anna rather than from a design by Parmigianino, as had been previously believed.

¹⁵ Among the many enthusiastic artists, travelers, and writers who praised the fresco were Vasari, Dolce, Sansovino, Ridolfi, and Lomazzo. Cf. Giuseppe Fiocco, *Giovanni Antonio Pordenone*, Padua, 1943, p. 123.

¹⁶ Fig. 7. illustrates a drawing after this façade in the Victoria and Albert Museum which was identified by Baron Detlev von Hadeln, "A drawing after an Important Lost Work by Pordenone," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIV (1924), p. 149. Among the subjects assembled on the facade Hadeln identifies Marcus Curtius, the Rape of the Sabines, Mercury with Herse and Aglauros, and the Rape of Proserpina. The figures of Cupid and Saturn are seen in the upper right hand corner of the façade, a decorative group located above an unidentified mythological scene. A reclining winged

female figure is in the corresponding location on the left of the façade. See also Fiocco, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁷ Martino d'Anna, the superintendent of the Scuola di San Rocco (and thus an important patron of Tinoretto). See Fiocco, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁸ Vasari comments on the importance of this rivalry to Pordenone's works: "E di vero, questa concorrenza gli fu di giovamento, perchè ella gli fece mettere in tutte l'opere quel maggiore studio e diligenza con potette, onde riuscirono degne d'eterna lode." *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, ed Architettori*, ed. Milanese, Florence, 1880, Vol. V, p. 115.

¹⁹ Lomazzo reports the popular tradition that Michelangelo had painted one of the figures of the fresco. *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura, Scultura, ed Architettura*, Rome, 1844, Vol. II, p. 45.

²⁰ Lunsingh Scheurleer, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Throughout his long lifetime Boulle was an avid collector of art; along with a significant collection of manuscripts and paintings he compiled an exceptionally complete collection of prints and drawings by major Italian and French artists. (So fervid was Boulle's passion for collecting that in spite of his successful commissions he was continually in debt and at least once was forced to seek royal protection from his creditors, who often included his own workmen.) (See Lady Dilke *op. cit.*, pp. 144 ff.) During the early morning hours of August 30, 1720, a fire swept through Boulle's lodgings in the Louvre. Although many of his treasures were saved, those that were lost were irreplaceable—including forty-eight drawings by Raphael to illustrate Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the sketchbook of drawings which Rubens compiled as a young artist living in Italy. One feels a profound admiration for Boulle's taste—and a sorrow that so much could have been so quickly lost—when one reads the inventory describing the devastation of the fire. (*Archives de l'art français*, Paris, 1855-56, Vol. IV, pp. 334-49.)

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Report on Soviet ICOM Meeting by *Charles W. Stanford, Jr.* 3
The Portraiture of Thomas Eakins by *Dorothy Rennie* 12



The head of Gov. Dan Moore is "seen" by Johnny Brown, a blind student, Mrs. Moore and Charles Stanford during the exhibition "Portraits in Sculpture" in the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind.

A Report On A Meeting Of The Soviet Committee Of The International Council Of Museums

By Charles W. Stanford, Jr.
Curator of Education
North Carolina Museum of Art

In August of 1967, I received an official invitation from Mrs. René Marcoué of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, to participate in a meeting of the Soviet Committee of the International Council of Museums to be held in Leningrad and Moscow May 14 to May 21, 1968. Mrs. Marcoué is secretary of the International Committee for Education and Cultural Action and the invitation was issued on behalf of the chairman of the committee, Thomas Folds, Dean of Education of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the vice-chairman, Madame Irina Antonova, director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow.

I was asked, specifically, to deliver a paper on the pilot project of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, and to take part in the general discussion explaining the educational program at the North Carolina Museum of Art.

The conference began at the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad on Tuesday, May 14, and the theme was "The Role of Museums in Educational and Cultural Action."

Boris Piotrovski, director of the Hermitage Museum, opened the conference with a talk, "The Development of Museum Education Is an Outstanding Factor in Contemporary Life," which was followed by a talk by Thomas Folds on "The Role of the Museum in the Life of School Children and Adults."

On the following day, talks were given on different methods in museum education involving the use of lectures, gallery talks and extramural activities. On Thursday, May 16, the topic of talks and general discussion was problems of the museum and the school.

Each afternoon, following the morning sessions, the Russian Committee had planned visits to the Hermitage Museum collection, the Pushkin House, tours of Leningrad and study in the Russian State Museum and Ethnographical Museum. We also were shown the recent restoration of the Czar's Palace at Tzarloe Selo and we visited

the Catherine Palace and the palace of Petrodvoretz.

On Friday, May 17, the conference moved to Moscow where the sessions took place in the Gorky Institute. The first session in Moscow began with discussions on the museum as a cultural center. The next day, the program was "Perception and Museum Display."

On May 20, technical aid in museum education—such as cinema, radio and television—were discussed in detail and various countries reported on their activities in this area.

On May 21 the ICOM Committee for Education and Cultural Action closed with a session on Resolutions which were to be presented to the full conference of ICOM in Cologne, Germany, in August.

Despite the diversity of people and places represented, it was evident from the ICOM conference that the problems of museums are similar the world over.

Interest in art is on the rise in every country and this has created the universal problem of how to handle increasing crowds in museums so that they may see and study the collections with comparative ease — and profit. The question of the type of information presented and how it should be given the museum visitor is another common problem.

In India, collections are being taken to the people in a traveling bus. In Leningrad, lecturers from the Hermitage present illustrated slide talks to various workers who, in turn, visit the museum to see original works of art.

It was pointed out that until a short while ago many museums regarded films with indifference and even mistrust. This attitude, however, is changing with the improved quality of films now being produced.

In Moscow our Russian hosts arranged for visits to the Kremlin Museums, the Pushkin Museum, the State Museum of History, the USSR Army Museum and the Tretyakov Gallery. Tours also were made through the city of Moscow.

Countries represented at the committee conference included East Germany, Bulgaria, Denmark, the United States, France, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, New Zealand, Holland, Poland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and U.S.S.R.

Thomas Folds, Richard Grove, of the U. S. Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and I were the three representatives from the United States.

During the session on "Problems of Perception and Museum Display," held May 19, I presented the following paper which was translated by interpreters into Russian and French.

Knowing Art In A Museum Through
The Perception Of Touch:
The Mary Duke Biddle
Gallery For The Blind

Today I am going to speak on a unique project that has been initiated in the State of North Carolina. This project, the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, is the first gallery ever established where the blind can touch or "see" original works of art



Blind students from the Governor Morehead School in Raleigh toured the gallery during the opening exhibition which had as its theme the sense of touch.

through their fingers. The gallery is a part of the North Carolina Museum of Art in the capital city of Raleigh.

A few years ago the thought occurred to me, What could be done in an art museum to let our blind public actually participate? Pictures are mainly color and color cannot be defined verbally; it is purely a visual experience. Paint-

ings, then, were certainly not the answer.

After mulling over this problem, I decided to see what *could be done*. I began to outline a program for the blind, basing the study on sculpture and reliefs. I approached the superintendent of the North Carolina State School for the Blind to see if there

was any interest in such a project. He talked with his staff and they were extremely interested, agreeing to give the museum their full cooperation. Consequently, a group of eight volunteer students from the North Carolina State School for the Blind were asked to participate.

We also got in touch with Miss Mary Switzer, who at that time was Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Miss Switzer expressed her interest and offered her

assistance and that of her staff. She arranged for Allen Eaton, author of *Beauty for the Sighted and the Blind*, a pioneering study of the awareness of the appreciation of art objects, to come to our museum and present invaluable aid.

A class was organized, and as far as is known this was the first history of art course ever held in a museum in this country exclusively for the blind.

There are two main types of study and instruction in the field of art. One is the creative study, such as actual



Descriptions in Braille (inside the rail) help blind students form images of exhibitions in their minds as they go from object to object.

painting or sculpture, weaving, basket making, etc. This is taught at many institutions for the blind.

The other type of study is the historical, or chronological, study of a work of art, as opposed to the creative. This approach was the one the NCMA was interested in following. Our ultimate purpose was to teach the blind a comprehensive survey of the history of art, but instead of using visual objects, such as paintings, tactile or "touch" type objects such as sculpture and reliefs were used.

Our sightless visitors, we knew, had wished to touch works of art; therefore, we wanted to create a gallery where the blind could actually *touch* the works of art. Selected original objects from all periods of culture—beginning with the pre-historic era and continuing to the present—were to be examined by this sense of touch.

The purpose of the gallery was to be not only the study of an individual object but also its connection with its own particular period in the development of the history of that period, exploring the related arts such as literature and music and relating these to the selected works of art.

By the study of an individual object, the blind student not only understands the object, but also connects and relates it with its sequence of events in civilization.

The first class was held in my office at the North Carolina Museum of Art. When the students arrived, they were oriented to the museum's environment by having them feel the marble columns in the lobby. In my office, the ob-

jects to be discussed were placed in the center of a table around which the students were seated.

This study was very informal. Usually we began with a brief description of life in a particular era—touching on the literature, music, history, sociology and art that grew out of that era.

The item being discussed was passed around. We might even say the item was being "seen," because our blind students constantly use the word "see" in conversation. "Let me see it," they say. They are so skilled in determining an object by the perception of touch and their remarks are so pertinent that it seems to an onlooker that they actually do *see*.

Much was learned from this pilot class:

1. The first thing realized was that reproductions could not be used successfully. Because of the acute sense of touch of the blind, original works of art should be used since reproductions create little interest because the surface feeling and texture of the reproductions are all alike.
2. We learned that the purely psychological reaction of having in one's hand an original object, whether it is 6,000 years old or 10 years old, is vastly important.
3. We found that the study object should not be too large or too small. It must be a size that the hands of the blind can encompass.
4. It was also discovered that the blind student's memory of an examined object usually is far better than that of the sighted.

5. The blind student as a rule does not like abstract art unless there is some frame of reference to a realistic subject.

The blind students' enthusiasm, cheerfulness, and quick perception of a work of art were indeed encouraging, and from this pilot study it became clear that a project such as this would be most worthwhile and feasible.

I was convinced that a gallery for the blind *must be* established, with changing exhibitions that could be used by both the child and the adult, and used by the sighted as well.

The NCMA board of trustees agreed to set aside space in our museum to be used as an experimental gallery. It was felt that the gallery should be comparatively small in order to prevent possible uneasiness in large surroundings. Consequently, the gallery is only 16 by 32 feet in size. However, due to the success of the project, we now plan to double the size, adding another gallery and an orientation room with booths for talking books.

Of course, money was needed for this new project. We went to the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation in New York, and the foundation made a donation of \$17,500. This grant made it possible to proceed with a design for the gallery. After the objectives were outlined from the findings of the pilot study, 20 students from the School of Design at N. C. State University submitted designs as a competitive project. A first year graduate student won the competition and his design was used as the working model for the gallery,

although a number of details were modified from the original plan as more was learned of the needs of the blind.

After much planning and work, the gallery was established and was opened to the public in March, 1966. The gallery, named for Mrs. Mary Duke Biddle, a noted benefactor from Durham, N. C., is designed so the blind visitor can be completely self-sufficient, once he arrives at the door. Instructions in Braille on how to use the gallery are attached to the wall at the entrance. Also on the wall is a relief map of the gallery layout with Braille labels indicating exhibition space, library and study areas. This serves to give the blind a preview of the gallery space, thus orienting them and giving them a feeling of security. After the relief map, the exhibition begins.

The objects are displayed on a counter space two feet wide and three feet from floor level. An eight-inch guide rail is attached to the counter and serves not only to channel the blind visitor through the exhibit, but also to lessen the danger of objects falling from the display space. The rail projects two inches above the level of the counter and on the inside of the rail are Braille labels describing the objects. The items are within easy reach and the blind visitor may examine them thoroughly by touching them.

The first exhibition had as its theme the sense of touch, symbolized by Rodin's *Hand*. It represented a survey of the history of art, starting with an Egyptian head and working chronologi-

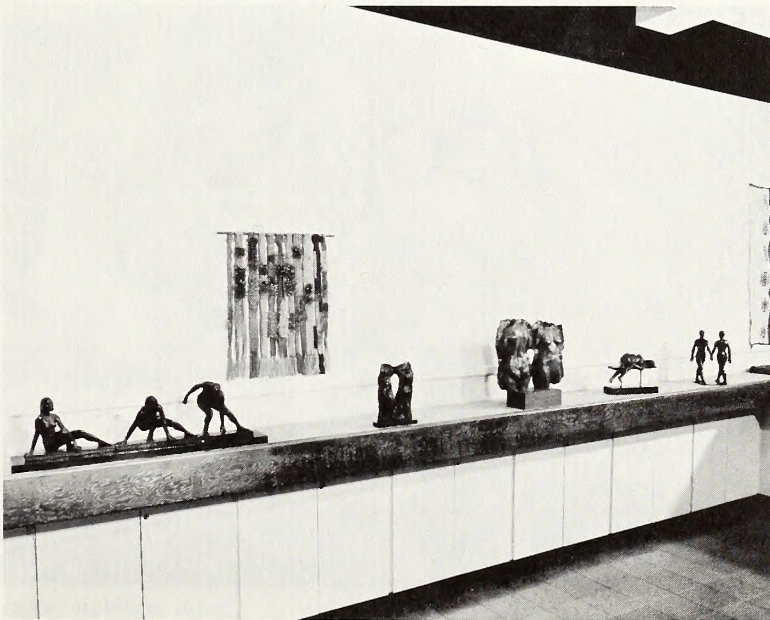
cally up to the present—Rodin, Bourdelle, Henry Moore.

We have established the policy that no work of art has been or will be exhibited or purchased that does not meet the same high standards required in the N. C. Museum of Art galleries for the sighted.

All objects are selected to serve an aesthetic purpose as well as an educational one. They also have been selected with a view to different tactile values; for example, bronze as contrasted with marble, or terra cotta as compared with granite.

To the blind, whose sense of touch is developed far more than the sighted, not only are textures and form important, but also temperatures of different objects, such as the coolness of marble as compared with the relative warmth of wood.

A reference library in Braille is being set up in the study area of the gallery. The Library of Congress, Division for the Blind, has donated *History of Art* by H. M. Janson, and the sculpture section of *Art in the Western World* by Robb and Garrison. Until this project, there were no art his-



Most exhibitions in the Gallery for the Blind have a unifying theme. The "Posed Figure" exhibition, shown here, displayed figures representing different locations as well as different cultures.

tory books available to the blind in Braille. The visitor to the gallery, who has the services of a trained volunteer docent, thus can study or read further information on the artists represented in the exhibitions.

Also, a Braille catalogue of the particular works on exhibit is provided to give the blind visitor additional infor-

mation. Literature and publicity on gallery exhibitions are sent throughout the State of North Carolina to both individuals and institutions for the blind.

A series of seminars and other classes have been scheduled to give opportunity for further discussion and background history. It is planned for all services to be available to the entire



One of the most popular exhibitions is that of African sculpture which includes an antelope headdress, an ancestor figure, a musical instrument, a chair and tribal drums. Here, students enjoy looking at a wooden mask from the Basonge Tribe in the Congo.

blind population of North Carolina, both children and adults—a total of 11,000 persons.

However, in order to develop and continue the blind project, our museum must acquire more objects to be used for the blind. These objects should illustrate all periods of man's development. We are happy to report that during 1967, a total of 131 works of art were donated to the gallery.

Due to the continued interest and help of Miss Mary Switzer, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare donated to the NCMA a grant of \$15,000 in March, 1967, to make a pilot study of this project. Through this grant, a curator for the gallery was employed. Now it is possible to present changing exhibitions to the blind approximately every six weeks.

These exhibitions have been presented thus far:

1. *African Sculpture*, March, 1967.
2. *Chinese Jade*, April, 1967.
3. *Sculptures of the American West*, April, 1967.
4. *Athletic Figures*, May, 1967.
5. *Animal Sculptures*, June, July, August, 1967.
6. *Pre-Columbian Sculpture and Persian Artifacts*, September, October, 1967.
7. *Woodcuts and Western Sculpture*, November, December, 1967.
8. *Posed Figures*, December, 1967, January, 1968.

9. *Musical Instruments throughout the World*, February, March, 1968.

10. *Portraits in Sculpture*, April, May, 1968.

In March, 1968, another grant of \$25,000 was given by the Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which will enable us to double the size of the gallery. Audio booths will be provided for the use of talking books, and a new adjoining exhibition gallery will be created.

As a result of the planning pilot project, we have found that the blind not only must have changing exhibitions to create a continuing interest but also a permanent exhibition gallery for objects which they have studied and appreciate. The permanent exhibition serves not only as a frame of reference, but also makes the loan exhibitions more meaningful and aesthetically pleasant.

The information that we have obtained in establishing this gallery for the blind is to be compiled and published and it is hoped that our findings will be of value to other museums undertaking similar programs.

It is our belief that the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind has helped to develop the blind observer's powers of perception, his knowledge and imagination, and has given him a glimpse into a realm of civilization that, until now, has been unavailable to him.

The Portraiture Of Thomas Eakins

by Dorothy B. Rennie,
Assistant Curator of Education,
North Carolina Museum of Art

"I was born July 25, 1844. My Father's father was from the north of Ireland of the Scotch Irish. On my Mother's side my blood is English and Hollandish.

"I was a pupil of Gérôme (also of Bonnat and of Dumont, sculptor.) I have taught in life classes and lectured on anatomy continuously since 1873. I have painted many pictures and have done a little sculpture. For the public I believe my life is all in my work.

Yours truly,
Thomas Eakins
(1893)"¹

This statement, written for the publisher of a biographical dictionary in 1893, succinct though it is, by no means tells the story of Thomas Eakins. Walt Whitman once said, "Eakins is not a painter, he is a force."² Whitman's appraisal seems to imply that Eakins' character and moral strength were of more importance than his artistic achievements. Perhaps it implies also that Eakins' art expresses a certain moral force or quality which could be described as anti-artistic. His work never fitted into the proper channels of

the artistic taste of his time and he worked continuously at cross purposes with contemporaries who could neither understand his greatness nor his relation to the mainstream of American art. Philadelphia society of the latter 19th century could understand very little except its own security and comfort. Any art which probed beneath surface appearances, which contained personal vision or spiritual significance was a threat to its unimaginative dullness.

The criticism, disapproval, and lack of recognition which Eakins drew from his contemporaries during his most productive years had a great bearing on the course of his art. The range of his work narrowed more and more over the years, until he turned almost entirely to portraiture. Yet an Eakins portrait may often reveal an intensity and profundity equaling that found in the most discerning portraits of the old masters. The portrait of *Dr. Albert C. Getchell* (fig. 1), acquired by the North Carolina Museum of Art in 1967, was painted just nine years before Eakins' death. By this time, 1907, the artist had acquired a freedom and spontaneity of brushwork similar to that of Frans Hals.

There is no point in arguing that Eakins is equal to Hals, or Velasquez,

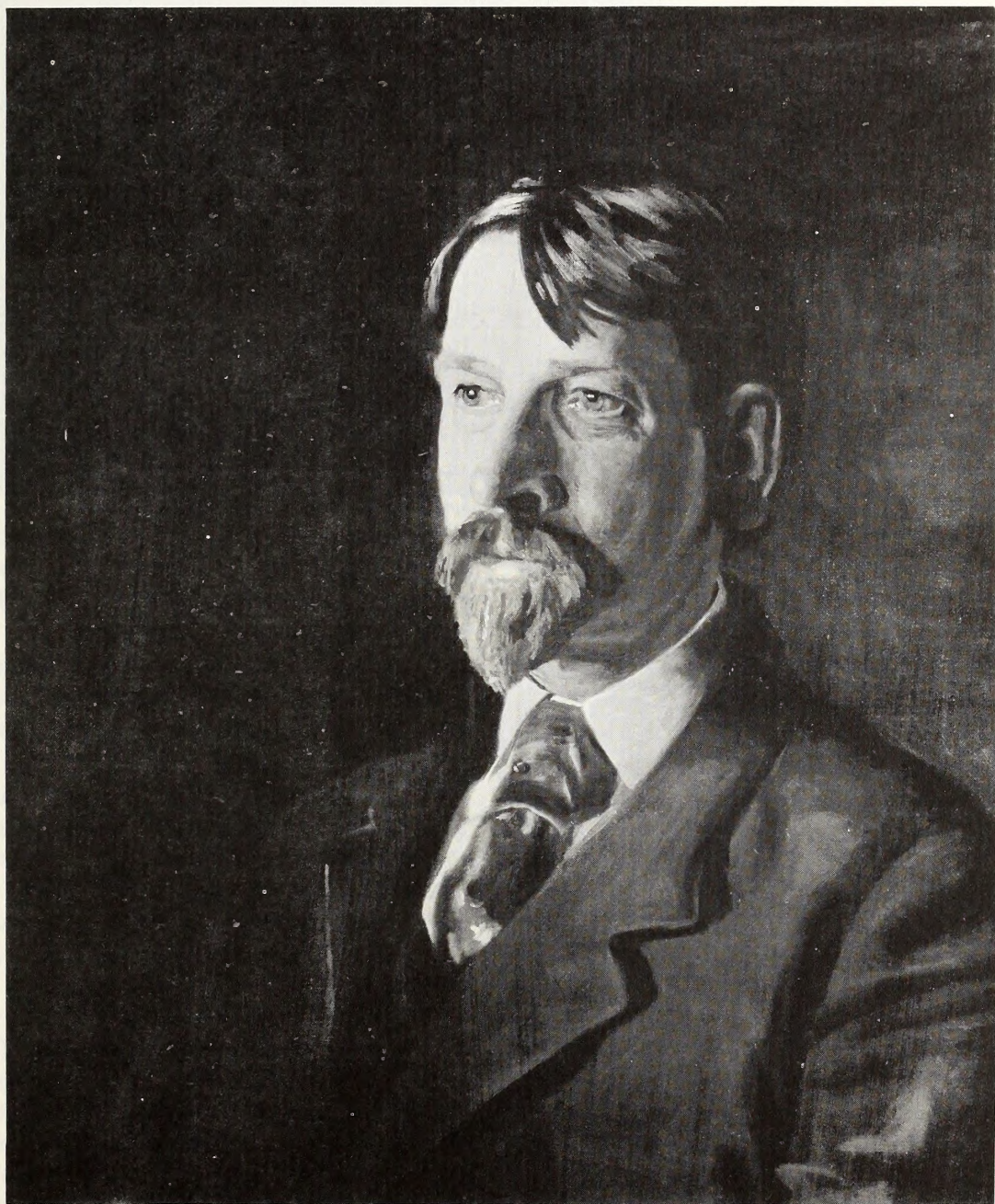


Fig. 1 Thomas Eakins (American, 1844-1916)
Portrait of Dr. Albert C. Getchell
Canvas; 24" x 20"
Museum Art Purchase Fund

or Rembrandt, yet his work is never ill at ease when compared with theirs. In fact, an interesting parallel exists between Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* (fig. 2), painted in 1632, and Eakins' *The Gross Clinic* (fig. 3), finished in 1875. At thirty-one, Eakins was fully conscious of his own ability as an artist, and had hoped that his painting of Dr. Samuel Gross at the operating table would establish his reputation and open ways for the development of his art. The similar subject matter of Dr. Tulp demonstrating scientific research and progress had brought success to Rembrandt at twenty-six. However, when Rembrandt was commissioned to paint the portraits of Nicolaas Tulp and the directors of the Amsterdam Guild of Surgeons in 1631, he was working within an established aesthetic and social tradition. Eakins' creative problems were more difficult. He had no tradition to support him, and his vision was too advanced and dramatic for the Philadelphian of his time.

The Philadelphia newspapers voiced horror and indignation in defense of "high art" when *The Gross Clinic* was exhibited. The painting was described as "brutal," and the artist was labeled a "butcher." It took seventy-five years for the public to accept it. The painting received the third highest number of votes in a popularity contest during the celebration of the Philadelphia Museum's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1950. By that time the painting's theme was commonplace, and it could be viewed with an historical interest. As far as the revolutionary quality of his vision

is concerned, Eakins never surpassed *The Gross Clinic*; not because he was unequal to going beyond it, but perhaps because he never found an audience equal to his art.

One has only to study *The Chess Players* (fig. 4), painted a year after *The Gross Clinic*, to see that Eakins was laboring under strong personal and public repressions during this period of his life. In *The Chess Players* he was seeking public approval. This small work³ demonstrates his mastery of genre, and was meant to offend no one. He used the same pyramidal-type composition of human figures as in *The Gross Clinic*, but the power and expansiveness of his former vision have given away to a mood and atmosphere of quiet contemplation. And here may be seen the beginning of that probing for character and psychological insight which was to occupy him in the portraits of his mature years.

In the museum's portrait of *Dr. Albert C. Getchell* (fig. 1), the artist has made no attempt to gloss over or to flatter his subject. The face is dominated by a prominent nose and large ears, perhaps a slightly receding chin hidden by a beard. But the face expresses a great mental energy; and perhaps it is somewhat symbolic that the highest light falls upon the forehead. His intense eyes help to express the great mental force of the doctor's character and personality. Even with his unlabored style, Eakins' painting here is solid and structural. There is a body beneath the clothes of the doctor, and a skull of bone beneath the flesh of the forehead.



Fig. 2

Rembrandt (Dutch, 1606-1669)
Dr. Tulp's Anatomy Lesson, 1632
 Courtesy of the Mauritshuis, The Hague

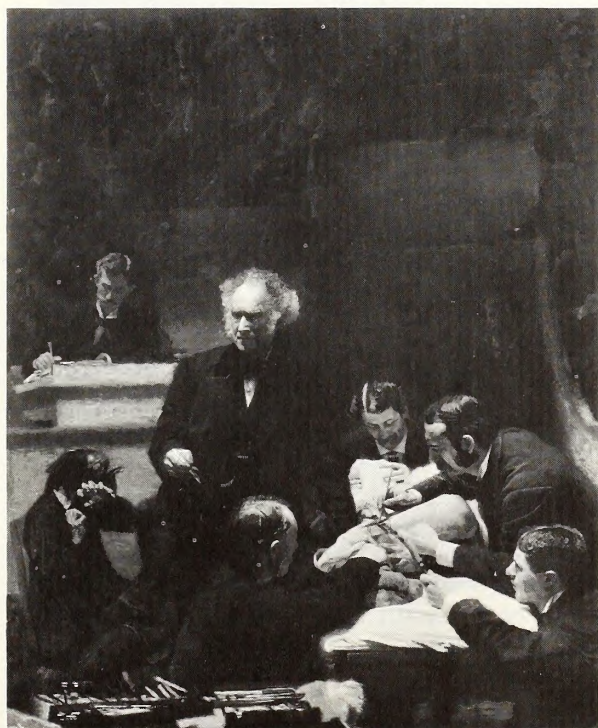


Fig. 3

Thomas Eakins
The Gross Clinic, 1875
 Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia

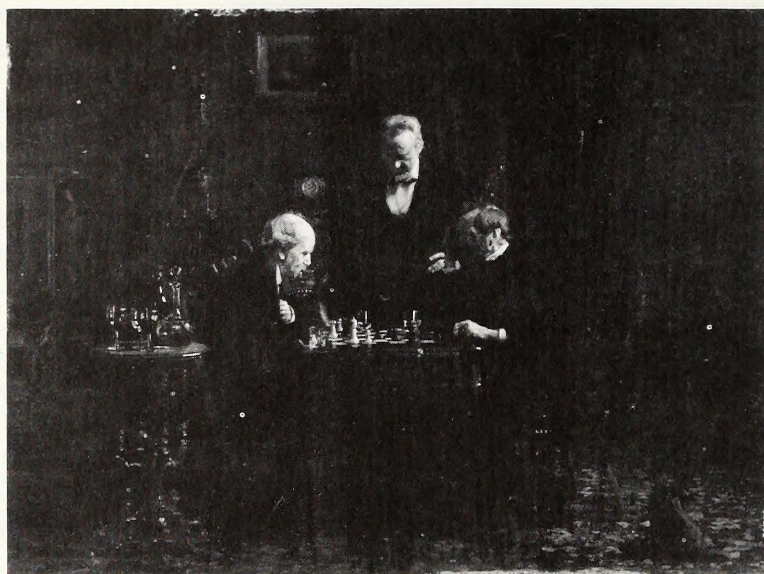


Fig. 4 Thomas Eakins
The Chess Players, 1876
 Oil on wood; 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Gift of the artist, 1881)

Dr. Getchell was a prominent physician⁴ who practiced in Worcester, Massachusetts. The portrait was painted when the doctor was fifty years old and at the height of his career. He was a specialist in throat and lung diseases, and a pioneer in the treatment of tuberculosis. Dr. Getchell's wife, Edith Loring Getchell, was a former pupil of Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy. At the time of the painting of the NCMA portrait she was connected with the Worcester Art Museum, and when Eakins was chosen to be on a jury for a show at the Museum, she invited the artist to stay

at the Getchell home. Eakins was struck by the strength of the doctor's face and asked if he might paint his portrait, not as a commissioned work, but for the artist's own pleasure. Sittings were arranged when Dr. Getchell attended medical meetings in Philadelphia. Eakins and the doctor had a common interest in anatomy, and Eakins took the doctor to prize fights in the evenings to study the action of human muscles. Eakins kept the portrait for a few years then sent it as a gift to Mrs. Getchell. The painting bears the inscription on the back, "To Edith Loring Getchell, Thomas Eakins, 1907."

Eakins was unsuited to be a fashionable portrait painter. At the age of thirty-six, after ten years of his professional career, he had sold only eight paintings. His total income, aside from teaching, had been a little over two thousand dollars. The artist's inability to flatter his subjects, his concentration on character and human qualities of his sitters, his love of the worn and the old, his lack of chic, as well as his darkness of color, all kept him from a profitable career as a portraitist. Commissions were few and far between, and it was only during the last decade of his life that he began actively to seek portrait commissions outside his circle of friends. Occasionally a college would order a portrait of a retiring professor, or a member of the Philadelphia society would give Eakins a portrait commission; but in many cases the sitters were dissatisfied with the too frank and unvarnished portrayal of themselves on canvas. Walt Whitman was one of the few who came to appreciate his portrait; (fig. 5) but Whitman's first impression was not a positive one. He did not find the finished portrait pleasing, and only later began to detect the profound insight of the artist's portrayal. He said of the painting, "My own impression summed up is, that the painting is a genuine piece of work—a quite extraordinary piece of work: may one day be considered even a great production—Eakins is not the man to be choked off by a few unripe or overripe dissenters."⁵

In spite of the criticism and censure received from his fellow Philadelphians,

Eakins, except for four years of study in Europe, spent his entire life in his native city. After graduating at the age of seventeen with an A.B. degree from Central High School,⁶ he began study at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the oldest art institute in this country. He supplemented his artistic education by attending anatomy classes at Jefferson Medical College, going through the regular anatomical training of a medical student, viewing dissections and operations. By the age of twenty his knowledge was equal to that

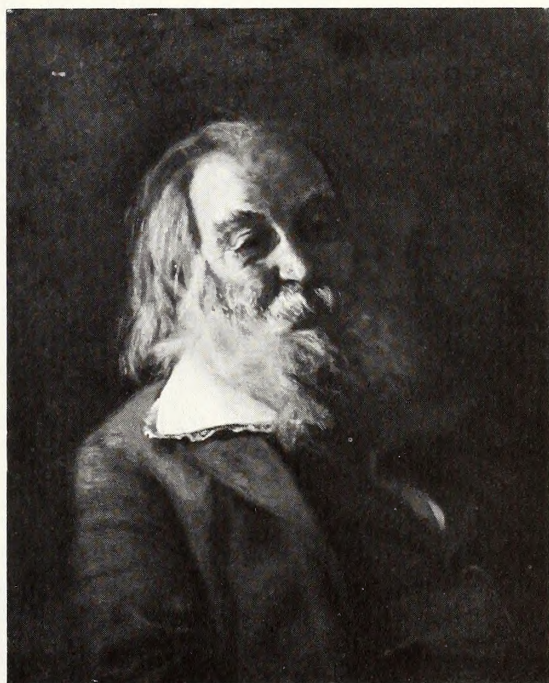


Fig. 5

Thomas Eakins
Portrait of Walt Whitman
 Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

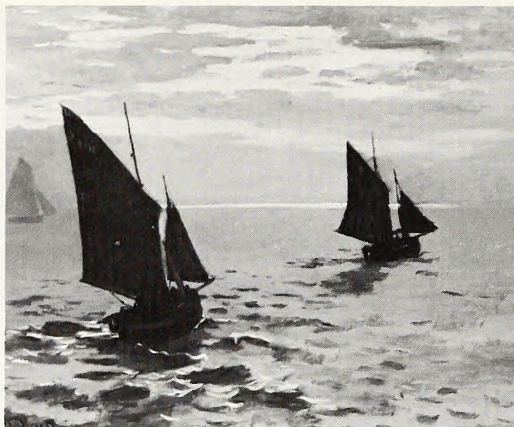


Fig. 6 Claude Monet (1840-1926)
Fishing Boats Leaving the Harbor, 1865
 Courtesy of the Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, Conn.

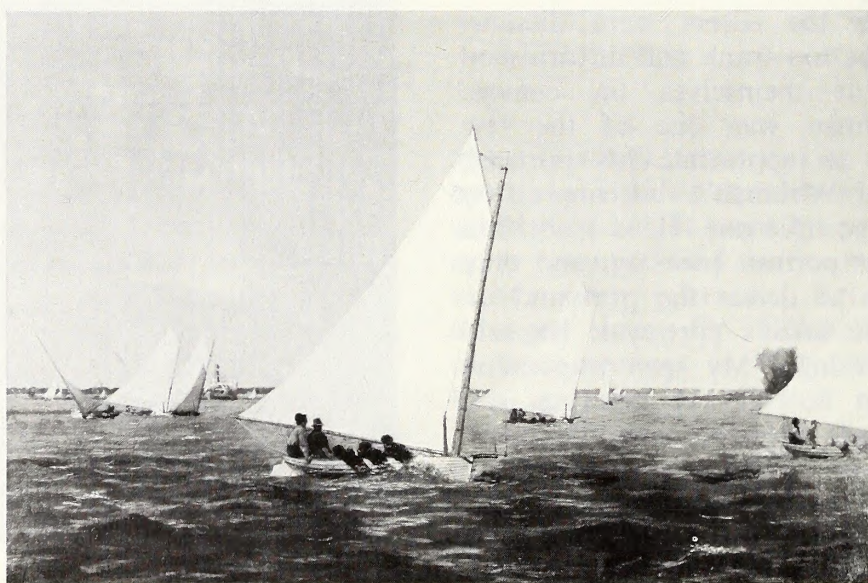


Fig. 7 Thomas Eakins
Sailboats Racing on the Delaware, 1874
 Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art

of a surgeon, and he became so absorbed in this study that at one time he considered changing to the medical profession. His artistic bent was stronger, however, and he realized he would have to go abroad to get further art training, since no better facilities were available in this country.

In a sense, Eakins was a pioneer in going to France to complete his education, since Paris, at this time, was not the goal of art students. In spite of the difficulty that a foreigner faced in entering the Academie des Beaux-Arts, Eakins was admitted only a month after his arrival in Paris. His days as a student were serious and industrious. He seemed to have little interest in the bohemianism of the artistic life which interested most American students abroad. However, he was no prig, and wrote many letters to his father which were filled with his impressions of the broader side of Gallic life. He made friends easily with the French students, and soon spoke fluent French.

The Impressionist Movement was forming during Eakins' student days in Paris, but it left him untouched. He might have seen Manet in the Salons, but the other Impressionists were obscure artists, only a little older than Eakins himself. It is doubtful whether Eakins would have accepted their philosophy of painting since his temperament was geared toward realism, not only in painting, but in every aspect of living. Eakins had grown up in a period when houses and clothes were drab, when oil and gas light, which cast sombre shadows, were used.

Most of the paintings he had studied in his youth had been in the dark tradition.

A comparison of the French Impressionist leader, Monet's *LeHavre: Fishing Boats Leaving the Harbor*, 1865, (fig. 6) and Eakins' *Sailboats Racing on the Delaware*, 1874, (fig. 7) shows the vastly different approach to painting of the two artists. Monet's seascape is a fleeting glimpse, a "first impression" kind of painting which reveals the artist's personal sensitivity to the sea, his fisherman's knowledge of weather, and the fugitive forces of nature. While Eakins may have been equally sensitive to these things, his sailboats racing on the Delaware seem to be more a scientific observation of the movement of air and water, felt and measured by men.

One would think that Courbet, with his romantic realism, might have had some influence on Eakins at this time, but he left no mention or record of the popular French revolutionist of his student days. Besides, Eakins was not a man to be easily influenced. He went his own way, painting from early morning until late at night, struggling for something he knew he was going to find. When he felt he had found it, he wrote his father he was coming home. A studio was prepared for him on the top floor of the Mount Vernon Street home, and it was here he spent the remainder of his life, painting the life he had known before he went to Paris.

While Eakins was a born teacher, his teaching career was stormy and as criticized by his contemporaries as

his paintings were. He was always searching for knowledge, and eager to pass it on. He felt strongly about the inadequacy of instruction he had received in this country, and his ideas on education were revolutionary for his day. In 1876 the Pennsylvania Academy moved into a new building, the latest in fashionable design with up-to-date equipment, and opened a regular school. Eakins had known the director of the school for many years, and offered his help in the life classes. He was not a recognized member of the faculty for two years, and received no salary during this time. Even so, there was some objection on the part of the board members who distrusted him as a "radical." However, they finally accepted him as an instructor with the title "Professor of Drawing and Painting."

Eakins objected to a long study of antique casts, which was the accepted procedure of teaching at this time. His policy was to keep students in the antique class as briefly as possible, sometimes no more than a week, and if they showed progress they were promoted to the life class where they began painting in full color, something he had not done during his student days there. Eakins believed in an exhaustive study of anatomy, not only of humans, but animals as well; and each year he would bring a live horse, and sometimes a cow, into the studio for the students to draw.

At this time an increasing number of women were entering art schools, and the Pennsylvania Academy was one of the first to accept women on

the same condition as men. At the Academy they formed half the number of students. The more conventional and puritanical of them disapproved of Eakins' method of teaching. Young ladies who wanted to learn china painting and water color sketching were given the task of learning anatomy, were asked to study mathematics, to dissect a cadaver, to use horses and cows for models. Art for them under Eakins was too strenuous. Other schools stressed easier methods and more spectacular results.

Eakins' emphasis on the nude, however, caused the most opposition. The study of the nude was still too recent an innovation in art schools for it to seem quite proper. It was the age when not much of the female ankle was allowed to be seen, and even in the freest teaching situation the female model's face had to be covered (fig. 8). During one of Eakins' classes the female model failed to show up and he asked one of the girl students to take off her blouse so the class could study her back. Instead she burst into tears and ran home to her father with the story. This caused a great commotion which was smoothed over only after much difficulty. The culmination of scandal over his teaching methods came in 1886 when he was pointing out to the women students in the life class the action of the pelvis in a male model, and removed the model's loin cloth. The incident was a trivial one, but was spark enough in an already tense atmosphere. "Proper" females complained to the director, a committee was formed, both sides were heard, and the hearing ruled Eakins must

exercise restrictions in posing his models or resign. Eakins replied that he would remain only on the condition that he be unhampered in his teaching. Therefore, his resignation was presented to the Academy on February 13, 1886.

But the matter did not end there. A group of the students, predominantly male, protested against the board's decision, and marched down Chestnut Street to Eakins' studio, cheering lustily for their instructor's return. They presented a petition to the Academy officials the next day, but the heads of the Academy were unmoved. Eakins took no part in all the agitation, and gave no encouragement to his students. Many of the students withdrew from the Academy and formed the Art Students League of Philadelphia with tuition set at half the Academy cost. Sometime later it was announced that Eakins would give his services free for one year. At the League he was able to give his pupils more personal attention, and the relationship between teacher and pupils became that of a family group. His studio was always open to them. He took an interest in their painting careers.

Eakins received more recognition in the last decade of his life than he had known during all the other years of his career; but it came too late. He had endured the many assaults upon his integrity as an artist, not without some bitterness, but never compromising his own art. His own self-portrait, (fig. 9) painted when he was 57, reveals a heavy, gray, weary-looking man, with a tinge of bitter-



Fig. 8 Thomas Eakins
Nude, 1866
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art

ness reflected in his expression. Even in the study of his own self, there is the same probing for human qualities which he sought in the many portraits painted throughout his lifetime. Here the painter faces us with quiet judgment in his eyes, a man with a stoical understanding of the destructive forces which prevented his creative fulfillment.

In probing for human strengths and weaknesses in his late portraits, he achieved as much certainty as a painter can hope for in painting the universal meanings in a gaze, or an expression, and he seemed to force

beauty from the most austere uses of form. He stands a solitary figure in the art of his period. He belonged to no school, and no definite traces of influence from other artists are seen in his work. It might be said his work has some kinship with the Spanish masters or with some of the independent French painters such as Manet, Courbet, or Degas; but this was more a matter of coincidence rather than direct influence.

The work of Eakins contains a nostalgia and a reminder of human dreams

lost along the way. The theme of time and mortality, of human endurance, is woven into his art. Perhaps today's world of synthetic feeling and technical eroticism is as unsuited an audience for his work as the Philadelphia society of 1875; but this does not alter the fact that Thomas Eakins was one of the most important American artists of the late 19th century. He left behind work of uncompromising strength and integrity, and the moral force of his life and work now belongs with the greatest of our American painters.



Fig. 9 Thomas Eakins
Self-portrait, 1902
Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

NOTES

¹ Sylvan Schendler, *Eakins* (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown & Co.) 1967, p. 1.

² A Retrospective Exhibition, *Thomas Eakins*, (National Gallery of Art, The Art Institute of Chicago, Philadelphia Museum of Art) 1961, p.27.

³ 11- $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 16- $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

⁴ Provenance files, North Carolina Museum of Art.

⁵ Sylvan Schendler, *Eakins* (Boston, Toronto: Little Brown & Co.) 1967. p.99.

⁶ Equivalent to the American college degree today.

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NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

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VOLUME VIII

NUMBER 3

MARCH 1969

Wilkie's Columbus by <i>Hamish A. D. Miles</i>	3
Drawings Related to Wilkie's Painting by <i>Mrs. J. P. Campbell</i> ..	17

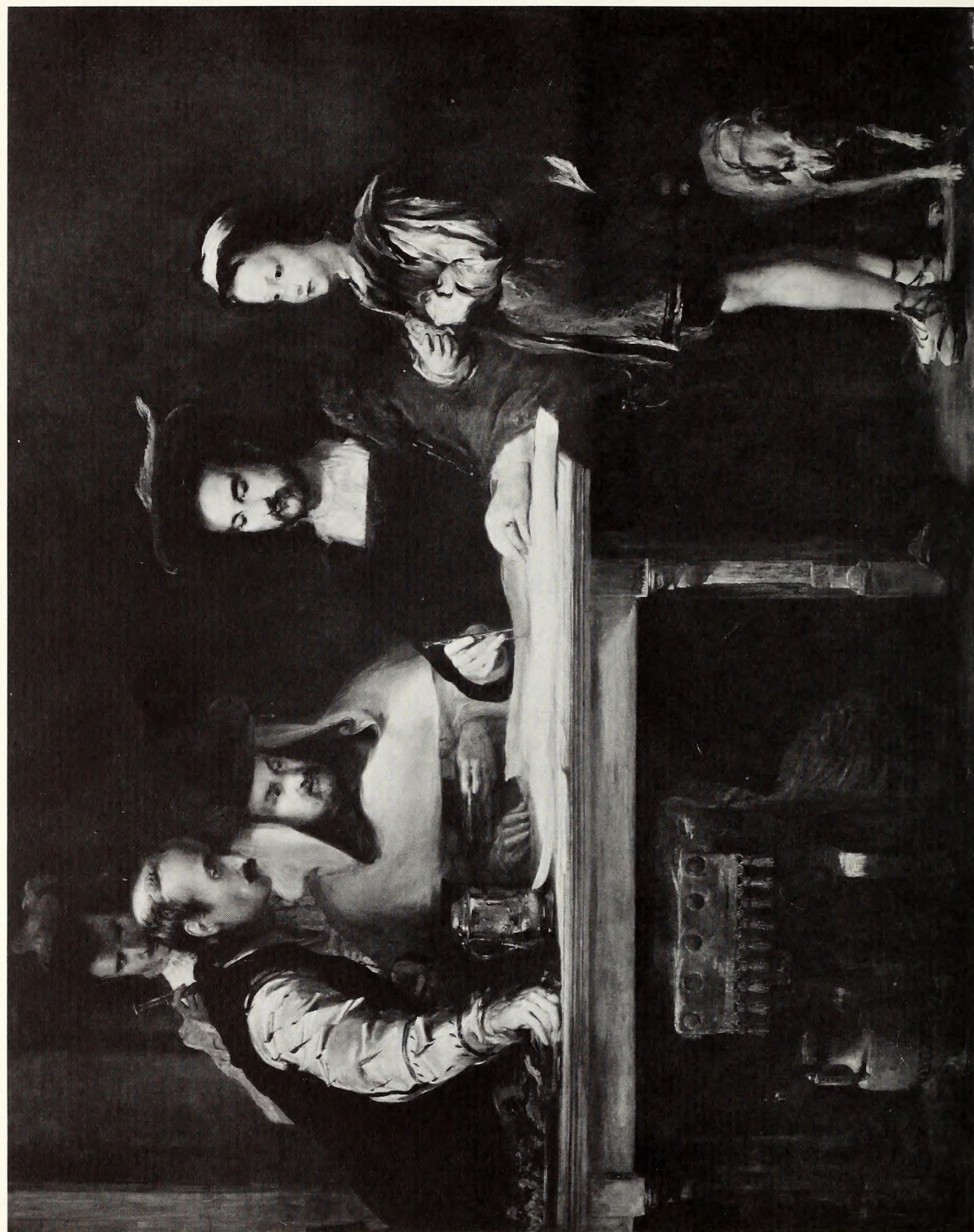


Fig. 1 Sir David Wilkie (Scotland, 1785-1841)
Columbus in the Convent of La Rabida, 1834
 Oil on canvas, 1834. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London.

WILKIE'S *COLUMBUS*

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Few today would concur in the judgment of Allan Cunningham, Sir David Wilkie's first biographer, that the *Columbus in the Convent of La Rabida* (fig. 1) was the "crowning glory of Wilkie's Spanish pictures." Indeed, one may be allowed the surmise that Wilkie's late works as a whole are held in less regard than those done before illness led him to seek relief in Italy and Spain over the years 1825-8, and to a change of style. The purpose of these notes is not, however, the remedy of what seems a critical imbalance to the general detriment of his late works, but to comment upon the history of the particular picture so lauded by Cunningham.

Wilkie's *Columbus* was given to the NCMA in 1959.¹ Over the previous half century or so it had been subject to fairly frequent changes of ownership,² crossing the Atlantic between 1911-15. The first six decades of its existence were, in contrast, settled; a Mr. Holford acquired the

picture from the artist in 1835, and his grandnephew (?), Sir George Holford, sold it in 1895.³

Yet, if 1835 marks the beginning of its proprietorial pedigree, the story of the conception and gestation of the picture can be taken back to 1827.

On October 10 of that year, Washington Irving, who had by then been attached for eighteen months or so to the American Legation at Madrid, noted in his journal: "... afternoon Wilkie the painter calls on me just arrived. . .".⁴ Wilkie, writing to his sister of his arrival in Madrid, also recorded the meeting: "... I have had the good fortune to find Mr. Washington Irving, whose surprise at seeing me was extreme."⁵ Irving's surprise must have been genuine, for though the two men had previously known each other in London, no letters seem to have passed between them since they had parted company in Paris in 1825, Wilkie bound for Italy, Irving for Bordeaux and Spain. But the surprise was evidently pleasurable on both sides. During the winter of 1827, while Wilkie was in Madrid, and briefly in Seville the following spring, they were much in each other's company.⁶

Within a few day of his own arrival in Madrid in February, 1826, Irving had made known his intention to translate what he correctly described as "the most complete body of facts . . . relative to the voyages of Columbus,"⁷ namely the recently published *Colección de los viages* by Martín Fernández de Navarrete. The task was first proposed to Irving by A. H. Everett, his chief of Legation, with the idea that the book should be of special interest to Americans.⁸ What might indeed have been a useful labor was, however, transformed by Irving's need for money, and a watchfulness of his popular reputation, into the respectable work of vulgarization we know as *The life and voyages of Christopher Columbus*. It was first published in London in February, 1828. The book was successful in its day, but if it is practically unread now, it is because it seems too closely contrived as a response to popular taste. The *American Quarterly Review* typically noticed it in these terms: "... the writing of Mr. Irving possesses another characteristic, which has never been more strongly and beautifully exhibited than in the present volume. We mean that lively perception of all those sentiments and incidents, which excite the finest and the pleasantest emotions of the human breast."⁹ Our own reaction is probably more nearly expressed in Wilkie's (friendly) rebuke to an effort by Irving in another context: "Too costumy! too costumy!"¹⁰ Yet there is danger in allowing Wilkie to speak here, for the strength and the weakness of his own art is hardly less well described by substituting his name for that of Irving in the passage quoted above.

Irving had effectively completed his *Columbus* by August 15, 1827,¹¹ that is to say before Wilkie's arrival in Madrid on October 10. Nevertheless *Columbus in the Convent of La Rabida* is the subject of the earliest known work by Wilkie to be dated from Spain, namely the watercolor drawing acquired by the Museum at Leicester in 1966 (fig. 2). It is signed and inscribed "Madrid. Octr. 13th 1827," and was previously known through an engraving published in the *Wilkie Gallery* [1848-50]. Within four days of his arrival in Madrid, Wilkie had found, perhaps through Irving, the subject that he was to develop into the painting now at Raleigh.

But this was not to be done until later. Wilkie's immediate preoccupation—apart from the study of the Spanish and Italian masters in Madrid and at the Escorial—was with three large canvases on the theme of contemporary Spanish patriotism. The first of these, *The Guerrilla Council of War*, he was working on from early December until late in January the following year; by the middle of March he had stopped work on his second canvas, *The Guerrilla's Departure*, and started on the third, *The Defence of Saragossa*. This last picture was little more than begun when Wilkie left Madrid for Seville on April 2.¹² It was not until after he was back in London in June that the artist worked these pictures up to their final finish. They were bought by George IV and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829. A fourth picture, *The Guerrilla's Return*, was added to complete the set in 1830.

To return to the *Columbus*, it was almost certainly the drawing of the subject

at Leicester which Cunningham saw, shortly after Wilkie's return to London, among others the artist had brought back from Spain in 1828. He tells us that he "was struck with the historic truth and character of this composition," and that he advised Wilkie "to expand the subject to the size of life." Present on this occasion was a friend of Cunningham's, "Mr. Ritchie of Edinburgh," who took Wilkie aside and told him that he should take this advice, and that he would buy the completed picture.¹³ This "Mr. Ritchie" was William Ritchie (1781-1831), an Edinburgh solicitor and a founder of the newspaper *The Scotsman*.¹⁴ He was a prolific columnist on a variety of matters, including those of art, but the extent of his activity as a collector has not been discovered.¹⁵ But Ritchie, by Cunningham's account, "did not live . . . to see his commission complete."¹⁶ In default of clear evidence that the painting had in fact been begun by 1831, the year of Ritchie's death, (or even by March, 1834, to judge from Wilkie's letter quoted below), the suspicion lies uppermost that Wilkie's commissions from George IV had been his overriding concern since his return from Spain.

The next mention of the *Columbus* occurs in a letter from Wilkie to Sir William Knighton, dated March 21, 1834. Sir William (1776-1836), who was private secretary and physician to the king, had for ten years been a friend and patron to Wilkie. The relevant part of the letter reads:

" . . . Mr. Holford of the Isle of Wight, asked me last autumn [i.e. in September, 1833] to paint him Columbus and

on answering that I was not at liberty to engage for this subject (you Sir having spoken to me about painting this the size I wished) he then asked me if I would paint him the Pope & Napoleon, that I might paint either the size of life, but whichever I painted must on account of his advanced period of life be begun immediately . . . I told him my engagements if immediately [i.e. "engagements which, if the picture was wanted immediately"] would not permit me and so the matter dropped. [sic]

"Now Dear Sir, as you did me the great favour some time back to speak of the Columbus as one you might employ me upon the size of life, this matter must entirely rest with you . . . and as you subsequently speaking about the Columbus, gave me the very handsome order for the Mother & Child, already done, and may perhaps in that have answered the purpose you intended by the Columbus I make bold to ascertain your pleasure upon the subject and in case you should not particularly want the Columbus I might offer it to Mr. Holford. . ."¹⁷

Knighton was evidently content to have the *Spanish Mother and Child* and the way was thus left open to "Mr. Holford of the Isle of Wight." Who Holford was is not clear. He bought Westcliff House, a recently built "marine villa" close to Niton on the Isle of Wight after 1808 and by 1813. It is probable that he was no longer alive in 1846. He is not to be confused, as has heretofore been done, with Robert Stayner Holford (1808-1892), the proprietor of Dorchester House in Park Lane,

and of an important collection of Old Masters, who inherited Wilkie's picture.¹⁸

After this Wilkie seems to have worked on the *Columbus* with at least some mind to the condition of his thanatoptic patron. By July 10, 1834 a start had been made, for on that day Henry Crabb Robinson, ever a mine of other peoples' business, reported on having seen the picture: "Only the philosopher's head and the figure of an interesting youth were finished. It is a promising beginning. But Wilkie is more interesting than his picture . . ." ¹⁹ Benjamin Robert Haydon found him engaged on the painting on August 10,²⁰ though later in the month, and in September, Wilkie was on holiday in Scotland. In mid-November, by which time Wilkie was at work again, Robert Vernon (1774-1849), a profiteer from the Napoleonic wars and an enlightened patron of British artist, made it known, perhaps with Turner as an intermediary, that he would be interested in adding the picture to his collection. Wilkie naturally informed him that it was already bespoken.²¹

Further indication of progress on the *Columbus* comes from a letter by Constable dated December 15, 1834 in which he announces to his correspondent, C. R. Leslie: "I shall be all this day with Wilkie. . ." ²² The remark is thus explained by Leslie in his *Life of Constable*: "Constable had been asked by Wilkie to sit for one of the heads in the picture of Columbus, that of the physician Garcia Fernandez"²³—that is, the figure leaning over the table to the left of the composition. Constable's high, domed brow and straight, sharp nose (compare the drawing

of him by Maclise, fig. 3) are clearly recognizable behind the Iberian disguise.

A fortnight later, on January 1, 1835, Wilkie was able to write: "Mr. Holford . . . has seen and approves in the most satisfactory way of the Picture, & leaves me to order such a frame as I think best suited to it."²⁴ The picture was one of the six that Wilkie sent to the Royal Academy exhibition in the spring of 1835. It is likely that Holford did not come into full possession of his *Columbus*, at a reputed price of £500,²⁵ until the exhibition was over.

The critical reception given to the picture was, as frequently with Wilkie's later work, uncertain. When Thackeray saw it at the exhibition he thought it "half good, & half bad,"²⁶ a lukewarm judgment which most of us today would probably be content to echo. Yet Constable, who was not given to intemperate praise, had called it "a noble picture."²⁷ It may, then, be of interest to quote some further contemporary reactions, favorable and unfavorable, which were occasioned by the exhibition of 1835.

The enthusiastic critic of the *Athenaeum* was high-minded in the manner of his time: "When we visit the Exhibition, we look out for such works as touch our hearts and interest our fancy, and write them down as good—no matter who produced them. The picture which dwells most in our mind, is the "*Columbus*" of WILKIE; it is an honour to British art: for dignity of conception, manliness of character, force of colour, and, above all, propriety of action and expression, it is unequalled in the Exhibition—perhaps not surpassed by any modern work. The names



Fig. 2 Sir David Wilkie
Columbus at the Convent of La Rabida, 1827
 Watercolor
 Courtesy of Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester,
 England

of Velasquez, of Rembrandt,²⁸ and of Titian, have been called in by some of our critical brethren to explain, by comparison, what words cannot describe—the high, the wonderful merits of this performance.²⁹ As this easy mode of criticism insinuates that the painter has imitated his elder brethren, we shall not follow it, because it is unjust to one who, in colouring as well as conception, is original.”³⁰

Readers of *Blackwood's Magazine* were treated to remarks both flippant and critically destitute: “. . . Wilkie R.A. Does he not shine? In truth, yes; but you would wish he did not. Here is Columbus and the Egg [a confusion with C. R. Leslie's picture of this title which was in the same exhibition], they say after the manner of Velasquez, but I hope not; the faces are streaky, very oddly painted, as if in rib-

bons of wax,³¹ and his mouths, which he could once paint, are pinched-up paper covered with lake. Yes, raw lake. Now, if this were the real portrait of Columbus, the picture would be of great value; but an ideal Columbus, make out of Irving of the unknown tongues (accounting, by the by, for the extraordinary mouths from which they may proceed) has neither value in poetry nor history.”³²

This passage, in style Thackeray crudely forespoken, reflects a sense of affront felt by many critics when their confident admiration of the early Wilkie (so safely under the shelter of the admired little masters of the 17th century Netherlands) seemed to be betrayed by his later work (in some respects as “modern” and exploratory as that of Delacroix across the Channel). Thackeray himself, indeed, later summed up the nature of a quandary that faced not only the critic, but was one which was also felt by Wilkie when thinking of his critics even before his return to England. Thackeray wrote “. . . if Sir David has taught us to like good pictures, by painting them formerly, we cannot help criticising if he paints bad ones now. . .”³³

Claude-Gabriel Simon, the editor of a newspaper at Nantes, has left us his impressions of a visit to England in 1835. His view of British painting as represented at the Royal Academy exhibition was hardly flattering—with a noteworthy exception in the following paragraph: “*A la tête des peintres anglais, je n'hésite pas à placer D. Wilkie. Cet artiste possède une manière à lui, que je n'engagerais pas à imiter; mais sa couleur a de la force et de la vérité, et si ses lignes ont quelque chose de vague, son intention est toujours*

sentie.”³⁴ *Comme tableau d'histoire, son Christophe-Colombe développant ses projet de voyage et de découvertes dans le couvent de la Rabida, est une oeuvre remarquable. L'expression du célèbre voyageur annonce la conviction du génie; la curiosité et l'étonnement amiment les figures de ses auditeurs: à sa gauche, son jeune fils, par son air d'indifférence et de candeur forme un contraste heureux avec l'apparence fortement préoccupée des autres personnages.*”³⁵

Simon, like the writer in the *Athenaeum*, was impressed by the character of the figures, and by the expressiveness and cogency of Wilkie's anecdote. While their observations were certainly sincere, they were not entirely free of an element of rather unexpected view of the picture, came from a different foreign visitor to the exhibition, Dr. Waagen, the Director of the Berlin Museum: “. . . Wilkie's Columbus . . . explains to a monk in the Spanish convent of Santa Maria de Rabida his plan for discovery upon a chart. This is not a happy subject for painting, which is not able to represent the demonstration itself in which the interest properly lies.”³⁶

This is surely an accurate identification of the weakness of the picture, if it is to be considered simply as a piece of storytelling. But an anecdotalist of such proven skill as Wilkie can hardly have failed to foresee the criticism. Waagen does, however, go on thus: “By the deep masses of chiaroscuro, the full colours of the dark red and purple draperies [?], contrasted with the bright lights, the effect of the picture, painted with great breadth, and mastery, is very striking.” Though Waagen



Fig. 3 Drawing by Maclise of John Constable
Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London

himself does not make the point, this should be enough to make us wonder if the *Columbus*, as indeed most of Wilkie's late work, is not to be seen as being to an important degree an exercise in painterly style (here parallels with Delacroix come closer), and so, in proportion, disconcerting to the then still prevalent critical ideals of the late 18th century. In considering this aspect of Wilkie's originality (though not strictly a part of our present business) we may look back to his own reaction to the Titians at Padua. In 1826, at a time when he was searching for the ingredients of the style exemplified in the *Columbus*, he wrote of Titian that: "His excellence is of a first-rate kind, but it is not for the common observer. Story or expression of countenance is but a secondary object in these works."³⁷

Finally, there is a question which, if it cannot be answered here, is still worth bringing forward: what aroused Wilkie's interest (and that of his patrons) in the subject of Columbus? The quick answer is Cunningham's, that: "The idea of Columbus was found in the life of that calmest and ablest of all discoveries, by Washington Irving,"³⁸ and the catalogue entry for Wilkie's picture at the Royal Academy exhibition does, indeed, include a paraphrase of the beginning of Chapter V from Book I of Irving's work. Yet even if we allow that Irving was able to communicate to Wilkie a sufficient enthusiasm for the subject of Columbus between October 10, 1827—the date on which the two men met at Madrid—and October 13, 1827—when Wilkie made his first design (fig. 2) for the painting of 1835, there is still room for wondering why Wilkie should have

been thus receptive to Irving's suggestion, why he should have given form to more than just this one episode from the life of Columbus, and why Wilkie was not alone among painters of his time to express himself on the subject.

Such questions may never be really answerable, and to argue them at length would be beyond the scope of these notes. For the present it must be enough to set out some of the matters of fact that have tended to indicate that the questions are real and probably worth exploring.

Before doing so, however, it would be as well to clear one possible source of confusion in the interpretation of the subject. We have already seen Wilkie's *Columbus* referred to by Cunningham, in 1843, as "the crowning glory of Wilkie's Spanish pictures."³⁹ He does so after writing on the four scenes inspired by the Peninsular War, three of which, as we have also seen, were begun at Madrid in 1827-28. In a sense Cunningham is right to think of the *Columbus* in the company of these, for it was conceived at Madrid, and is related in composition to *The Guerrilla Council of War*. Yet these connections are also misleading. Although the *Columbus* refers to an event which took place in Spain and was to have most important implications for her subsequent history, it should not here be considered as being of Spanish concern. When all is said and done, Columbus is remembered as the discoverer of America, and Wilkie's picture must be seen as an American subject. Even if we allow the only motive for the composition to have been one provided by Irving, it is still to be remembered that Irving's own book was at least partly un-

dertaken with an American market in mind. That Wilkie himself saw Columbus as being an American theme is a possible inference from a letter of 1836 in which he writes that "two American subjects, The Columbus and The Grace before Meat, have agreed to, and ordered."⁴⁰ Although not a conclusive statement on the matter, it can be interpreted fairly in the way that is suggested.

The passage from Wilkie's letter of 1836 just quoted makes it certain that the subject of Columbus was one that he had in mind to paint more than once. The letter in question was written a year after Wilkie had sold *Columbus at the Convent of La Rabida* to Holford, and the artist may therefore be supposed to have fixed upon some other episode to illustrate from the navigator's career. (It is most unlikely that he intended a repetition of the first picture.) Unfortunately this second *Columbus* was never painted. The end of the matter seems to have been in 1837, when Wilkie wrote of "a canvas I ordered for another Columbus,—it measures about 6 feet 6 by 4 feet 6, and is quite clean and new . . ."⁴¹ The precise subject he had intended is not revealed, and the canvas

was used for *The First Council of Queen Victoria* (1838; Windsor Castle).

If Wilkie's letters do nothing to specify the image he intended to put upon that blank canvas, an abstract notion may be gathered from the titles of two of his drawings. In the sale after his death there were two "tinted drawings" catalogued as "Columbus discovering land," and "Columbus explaining his Chart to Queen Isabella."⁴² Unfortunately these (undated) drawings have not survived to give a particular definition of Wilkie's direction of mind.

We have already remarked that Wilkie was not alone among painters in his interest in the man whose name was inscribed on that select roll of "the great thinkers and workers" drawn up by Rossetti for the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848/9.⁴³ The troubled year of 1848, the seventh after Wilkie's death, will serve, indeed, as a convenient point from which to look back at his *Columbus* in the context of paintings on the theme by other artists working in the earlier 19th century. The table below lists works by British artists to the left, and works by artists of other schools to the right.⁴⁴

TABLE OF ARTISTS

- 1819 G. Watson, *Columbus encouraging his desponding followers* (R. A.)
 1833
 1834 J. Stephanoff, *The reception of Columbus at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella* (B.I.)

- P. R. Vigneron (French), *Columbus showing his chain marks to Ferdinand and Isabella*
 P. L. Jollivet (French), *Columbus discovering America*

- 1835 C. R. Leslie, *Columbus and the egg* (R.A.)
D. WILKIE, *Columbus at La Rabida* (R.A.)
- 1836 H. F. Pluddeman (German), *Columbus discovering America*
- 1838 E. Delacroix (French), *Columbus at La Rabida*
- 1839 J. C. Brown, *The court of Columbus's house at Seville* (R.S.A.)
W. Simson, *Columbus at La Rabida* (R.A.)
E. Delacroix (French), *The return of Columbus*
E. Lassalle (French), *Portrait of Columbus*
- 1840 H. F. Pluddeman (German), *The death of Columbus*
C. J. L. Portman (Dutch), *Columbus in chains*
- 1841 W. Simson, *Columbus at La Rabida* (B.I.: perhaps the same as R.A., 1839)
E. Leutze (German/American), *Columbus before the Council of Salamanca*
- 1842 A. Christie, *Columbus finding drift from an unknown land upon the shore of Spain* (R.S.A.)
H. F. Pluddeman (German), *Columbus entering Barcelona*
- 1843 C. C. Ruben (German), *Columbus discovering America*
A. M. Colin (French), *Columbus before the Council at Salamanca*
- 1844 S. Drummond, *The triumph of Columbus* (R.A.)
J. A. Houston, *Columbus sighting land* (R.A.)
E. B. Morris, *Columbus and the egg* (B.I.)
E. Leutze (German/American), *Columbus at the gate of La Rabida*
J. Vanderlyn (American), *The landing of Columbus*
- 1845 H. F. Pluddeman (German), *Columbus at the gate of La Rabida*
- 1846 J. N. Robert-Fleury (French), *The reception of Columbus*
A. M. Colin (French), *Columbus at night looking for land*
N. Pieneman (Dutch), *Columbus taking possession of San Salvador*
G. Wappers (Belgian), *Columbus in prison*
- 1848 H. F. Pluddeman (German), *Columbus landing at Cadiz*

NOTES

¹ By Hirschl & Adler Galleries of New York, N. Y.

² The not quite complete provenance of the picture is as follows: "Mr. Holford", 1835; R. S. Holford; Sir George Holford; sold by him to Thomas Agnew and Sons, London, 1895; T. Wallis and Sons, London; Anon. sale, London (Christie's), 10 May 1907, lot 70, bought by White, £300; Blakeslee Galleries sale, New York (American Art Association), 21 April 1915, lot 235, bought by Minneapolis Institute of Arts, \$1,025; sold by them into the New York art market.

³ On the Holfords see above, and note 18, below.

⁴ *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXII, 1958, p.307.

⁵ Allan Cunningham, *Life of Sir David Wilkie*, II, 1843, p.463. I have preferred Irving's dating of the event.

⁶ For a summary account of the relationship see H. Miles, "Adnotatiunculae Leicestrienses: Wilkie and Washington Irving in Spain," in *Scottish Art Review*, XII, No. 1, 1968.

⁷ Letter of 25, February 1826, in S. T. Williams (ed), *Irving and the Storrows*, 1933, p.67.

⁸ S. T. Williams, *Life of Washington Irving*, I, 1935, p.307.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p.304.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p.335.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, p.320, and nn.126-7.

¹² The progress of these pictures is suggested by a reading of Cunningham, *op. cit.*, II, pp.506, 509-10; C. R. Leslie, *Autobiographical recollections*, II, 1860, p.189; P. M. Irving, *Life and letters of Washington Irving*, II, 1862, pp.224, 231, 242, 252.

¹³ Cunningham, *op. cit.* III, pp.89-90.

¹⁴ On Ritchie see David Hogg, *Life of Allan Cunningham*, 1875, pp.276-7, 288-90, 293-5, 298-301; Henry Thomas Cockburn, *Memorials of his time*, 1856 pp.310-11; "The Scotsman", *The glorious privilege*, 1967, pp.3.12, etc.

¹⁵ Ritchie's activity as a collector might have been reflected in his will. Mr. Robin Hutchinson has very kindly looked for this at Register House, Edinburgh, but without success. He has, however, come upon an obituary by Charles Maclaren, published in Edinburgh in 1831, under the title *Biographical notes on William Ritchie*. This tells us nothing of Wilkie, only that Ritchie admired and encouraged the sculptor Lawrence Macdonald (1799-1878).

¹⁶ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, III, p.90.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8. Cunningham's transaction has been corrected from the original letter in the National Library of Scotland.

¹⁸ "... a new marine villa, built by Mrs. Fawkenor, but now possessed by --- Holford Esq. called Westcliffe House. ..." (William Cooke, *New picture of the Isle of Wight*, 1813, p.86). In the 1808 edition of his book Cooke (p.67) called the house "newly erected", and Mrs. Fawkenor was still in possession of it.

The owner of Westcliffe is explicitly named as Robert Holford in 1831 (George Brannan, *Vectis scenery*, 1831, p.43), and this ownership is restated in 1845 (T. Barber, *Picturesque illustrations of the Isle of Wight*, [1845], p.81). The later mention may already refer to Robert Stayner Holford (1808-1892), only son of George Peter Holford of Weston Birt (Gloucestershire), who succeeded his father in 1839 and who also had the manor of Wootton, in the north of the island in 1839 (W. Page (ed.), *Victoria history of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, V, 1912, p.205; J. Burke, *Landed gentry*, 1886, under Holford; J. Bateman, *Great landowners*, 4th edition, 1883, under Holford.) In either event Westcliffe House belonged to a Capt.

Ker in 1846 (G. Brannan, *Pleasure visitor's companion to the Isle of Wight*, [1846], p.iii).

The pedigree of Wilkie's *Columbus* has always started on the assumption that the "Mr. Holford" of 1834-5, and R. S. Holford were one and the same. This is most unlikely. In 1834, as we have seen, "Mr. Holford" is concerned "on account of his advanced period of life;" on the other hand, Dr. Waagen, in writing of R. S. Holford's collection a little before 1854, judged "from the youth of the proprietor" that his collection must have been assembled within a fairly short space of time (G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of art in Great Britain*, II, 1854, p.193). From this it appears certain that the two Holfords were men of different generations, though what their relationship was remains to be discovered.

Sir George Holford (1860-1926) of Weston Birt was the son of R. S. Holford.

¹⁹ H. C. Robinson, *Diary, reminiscences, and correspondence*, ed. T. Sadler, III, 1869, p.42.

²⁰ B. R. Haydon, *Autobiography and memoirs*, ed. T. Taylor, new edn. by A. Huxley, II, 1926, p.570.

²¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, III, pp.90-91, 93.

²² John Constable, *Correspondence*, ed. R. B. Beckett, III, 1965, p.121. (Beckett's editorial assertion that the *Columbus* was being painted for Henry Carey must arise from a confusion between this and a later and unexecuted project for another version of the subject.)

²³ C. R. Leslie, *Memoirs of the life of John Constable*, ed. J. Mayne, 1951, p.238.

²⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, III, p.93.

²⁵ Exhibition catalogue: *Catalogue of the art treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, under No. 618. The sum is given as 500 guineas in *Quarterly Review*, LXXII, 1843, p.440; the *Annual Register* . . . of the year 1841, 1842, p.207, puts the purchase price at 1,100 guineas.

²⁶ W. M. Thackeray, *Letters*, ed. G. N. Ray, I, 1945, p.294.

²⁷ Leslie, *op. cit.*, p.238.

²⁸ The comparisons with Rembrandt were concerned with the lighting of the picture, and not specifically with its design. The principal stages in the development of the design seem to have been from the drawing at Leicester (fig. 2), through *The Guerrilla Council of War* (1828; Buckingham Palace), to its resolution in the picture of 1835 at Raleigh. It is not impossible that in reaching this resolution, Wilkie did so with an eye

on J. P. de Frey's engraving of 1798 after Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*. (Wilkie was not to see the original until 1840.)

²⁹ Cf., e.g., a later example: "We like better the pieces in which the imitation, not less obvious, is of Velasquez chiefly [rather than of Rembrandt]. For harmonious breadth of effect, some of the larger of this class (the *Columbus* especially, the *Hatfield Wellington*, and the *Scene at Fontainebleau*) may be hung, without apprehension, beside the noblest canvasses of the Spaniard. . ." *Quarterly Review*, LXXII, 1843, p.440.

³⁰ *Athenaeum*, 1835, p.379.

³¹ Cf. the reviewer of Cunningham, *op. cit.*, in the *Quarterly Review*, LXXII, 1843, p.444: he regrets Wilkie's inability, in his later work, to treat the human face, and is upset by his "streaky profusion of lines . . . so unlike the bold transparent blendings of Sir Joshua [Reynolds] . . ."

³² *Blackwood's Magazine*, XXXVIII, 1835, p.201.

³³ W. M. Thackeray, *Critical papers in art, [etc.]*, ed. Lewis Melville, (Macmillan), 1904, p.19.

³⁴ Cf. Thackeray (*op. cit.*, p.8): "Sir David does everything for a picture nowadays but the *drawing*. Who knows? Perhaps it is well left out."

³⁵ C. G. Simon, *Observations recueillies en Angleterre*, I, Bruxelles, 1837, p.146.

³⁶ G. F. Waagen, *Works of art and artists in England*, II, 1838, p.148.

³⁷ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, II, p.294.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p.95.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p.505.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III, p.119. An ambiguity in Wilkie's phrase must be admitted. The *Grace before Meat* (1839, Birmingham) he refers to later as "My picture for America. . ." (*ibid.*, p.274), and indeed it went to a collector in New Orleans. Thus the "two American subjects, The *Columbus* and The *Grace before Meat*" could be taken to mean, simply, the two pictures destined for American patrons. But the ambiguity is not one that contains a negation of the suggestion that Raleigh's *Columbus* is to be seen as an American subject.

⁴¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, III, p.226.

⁴² Wilkie sale (Christie's), April 25 and five following days, 1842: 1st day, lot 124; 2nd day, lot 232. There

were other drawings in the sale simply catalogued as "Columbus"; some of these were certainly connected with the painting at Raleigh.

⁴³ W. H. Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, I, 1905, p.159.

⁴⁴ The nationality of artists in the right-hand column is given in brackets after their names. The place of exhibition is given in brackets after the titles of pictures by British artists, using the following abbreviations: R.A.—Royal Academy; R.S.A.—Royal Scottish Academy; B.I.—British Institution. Undateable paint-

ings, as also sculpture, drawings, prints, and book-illustrations are excluded from the lists, which can claim to be complete only for British pictures exhibited in the institutions just mentioned. The list of French pictures will probably not be much extended (in this connection it was Professor Francis Haskell who kindly drew my attention to the Fleury of 1846). Pictures by artists of other nationalities are a frankly random assemblage, and one might expect the American list in particular to be open to considerable improvement.

For a long but quite uncritical compilation of Columbus pictures, see N. Ponce de Léon, *Columbus Gallery*, 1893.



Fig. 4 Sir David Wilkie
The Guerrilla Council of War or The Spanish Posada
Pencil, pen and wash and watercolor
Courtesy of The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

DRAWINGS RELATED TO WILKIE'S PAINTING OF *COLUMBUS AT THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA*

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The drawings made by Sir David Wilkie during his visit to Spain between 1827 and 1828 form a small independent body of work, differing distinctly in character from any other group in his oeuvre and incorporating original features both of technique and style. Wilkie's normal practice when traveling abroad was to record, in the form of copious sketches, any individual figures or incidents which interested him, probably in the hope of incorporating them in some future painting. This rarely, if ever, happened for his visual notes were incomplete and unconnected. His foreign material therefore remained unworked, with the exception of the Spanish drawings, from which at least nine subjects were painted. Even more unusual is the complete lack of evidence for any preliminary figure studies intended for any of these works, which seem to have been transcribed directly from a single fully developed compositional sketch¹.

Fortunately Wilkie was completely open about his work and useful information abounds in the journals and letters of his and his friends.² These show that until 1825 Wilkie's method of bringing an idea to fruition was slow and laborious. Occasionally he was excited by a spontaneous idea such as the "Chelsea Pensioner," but usually he suffered from a dearth of imagination, and throughout his life he derived his subjects from prints, literature, everyday genre scenes or the suggestions of friends. Those commissions which did not stimulate his interest he executed at great speed as "pot boilers" after very little preparatory drawing. He was able to do this by basing the composition on a previously successful design and painting the figures in straight from the model or lay-figure. Subjects which suggested interesting possibilities, however, totally absorbed his attention for years and for these he made an amazing number of drawings in every conceivable medium and to every degree of finish. (The "Chelsea Pensioners," for instance, for which Wilkie made at least eighty drawings and four oil sketches, took six years to evolve.)

Having sifted through his designs at various stages he would make oil studies of the possible basic alternative arrangements concluding the preliminaries with a finished oil sketch. Despite this intensive preparation the final canvases were also extensively altered; his early journals, before the Spanish visit, constantly refer to the necessity of taking out and completely redoing a whole day's work.³ Strangely this infinitely painstaking preparation was not undertaken to increase the degree of detail but to unify the action and to refine formal relationships within and between numerous figure groups. This immense labor of minute adjustment resulted in work of a high quality but of tediously slow production and, consequently, limited financial returns.⁴

A natural tendency to broaden his style had emerged by 1825 in his drawings for the "Parish Beadle," and at the same time his rise in social eminence had redirected his interest from genre to history subjects.⁵ When he suddenly became ill in 1825 the enforced cessation from painting and the years of travel provided a complete break with his early work which was necessary for him consciously to rethink and reform his art. Factors of health, finance and ambition all influenced him, but his chief reason for wishing for a change was his increasing boredom with the complex and lengthy method of working to which he had grown accustomed. One of the most outstanding characteristics of Wilkie's work is its perpetual evolution, a feature caused by Wilkie's capacity to learn and absorb new techniques. During his protracted period of inactivity he avidly studied works by the great Italian

and Flemish masters, becoming involved with Andrew Wilson in the business of buying and evaluating Old Masters in private hands. Some of the first sketches that Wilkie made were colored sketches after Van Dyke for Peel's information⁶ and after Correggio—one of which he acquired.⁷ At this point he formulated his intention of painting "at once"⁸ in the manner of Correggio and attempted a few trial canvases, composing without many preparatory studies.⁹ Although exhausted he was sufficiently satisfied with the results¹⁰ to continue using the "alla prima" method of painting, a practice which survived intact until Wilkie considered the subject of "Columbus."

Wilkie was too unsettled on his arrival in Spain to begin to paint immediately, but he did make some colored drawings during the following week. Three of these were formerly in the Barbizon House collection and illustrate Spanish genre scenes taken from life—"A christening in Tolosa," on October 2, 1827; "Peasants dancing in the streets of Old Castille," on the 6th; and "A small open air procession escorting a mounted guerrilla" in the same place two days later. None involves narrative or complex action, and perhaps for this reason, only one of these ideas was developed, and that in modified form.¹¹

Together with a less complete group drawn at La Mancha,¹² these arrangements of the utmost simplicity, with straightforward frieze-like formats of figures set in shallow space and the background indicated as cloudy sky or basic geometric shapes representing buildings. The figure poses are generalized forms, briefly outlined, with patches of local

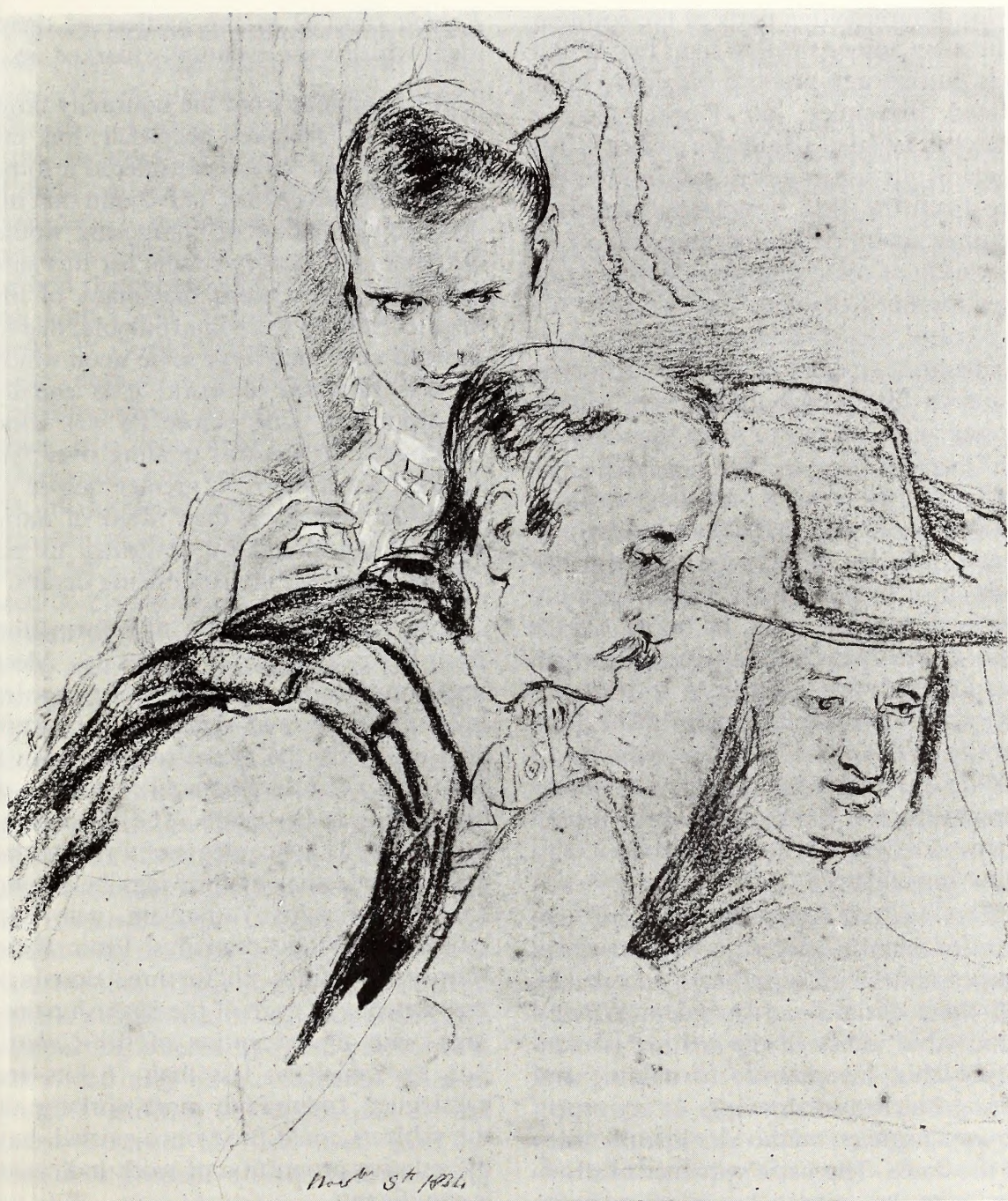


Fig. 5 Sir David Wilkie
Three Heads
Black, red and white chalk, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery,
San Marino, Calif.

color differentiating parts of the costume. These are among the first signs that Wilkie was putting into practice his newly formulated principles; no longer are his sketches isolated details to be fitted into some as yet unimagined composition but are from the first completely conceived arrangements. Following immediately on the heels of these groups is Wilkie's first idea for the "Columbus" on October 13th, at Madrid, (fig. 2) and thereafter he more deliberately sought to portray historical subjects. By taking either very simple arrangements of two or three figures (such as "Two Monks," or "the Guerrilla's Departure"); by using a formula known to produce satisfactory effects such as a group seated round a table, (like "Spanish Posada"); or by basing his design upon the work of another artist, as he did in the case of the "Maid of Saragossa," (which has at least strong affinities with one of Goya's designs for the series "The Horrors of War"—No. 7 "What Courage"); Wilkie was enabled to decide without preliminaries on a composition, draw it only once or twice, and then translate it into paint immediately.

This worked admirably for small pictures of Spanish genre, where generalized drapes and facial types were acceptable. All these designs are signed in Wilkie's hand¹³ but although the writing is indubitably his, his practice of naming and dating batches of drawings in retrospect throws suspicion on the absolute accuracy of the dates. The basic sequence of drawings can be accepted with reasonable security, and this places the Leicester sketch of *Columbus at the Convent of La*

Rabida (fig. 2) as the earliest of those ideas which were eventually worked up.

It is apparent from the unusually large amount of sketches recorded for the *Columbus* that Wilkie considered it to be his most exacting task, and found that his new rapid method of composing would not yield satisfactory results for this subject. One may assume that many of the detailed studies were unavoidable, due to the unaccustomed large scale upon which he was required to work; it is equally apparent that long before he was commissioned, Wilkie was mulling over this subject, according it a greater degree of attention than even the "Maid of Saragossa", and gradually reverting to his former approach of synthesizing details.

One can extract a lot of information from the catalogues of three sales. Most important are the catalogues of two sales held in 1842 and 1860, which were authorized by the executors of Wilkie's will, and which list the entire contents of his studies at his death. The third catalogue records the contents of a sale of the private collection of drawings belonging to B. Windus of Tottenham, who had many fine Wilkie drawings. From these sources one finds up to three drawings associated with each of the Spanish paintings, with the exception of the *Columbus*, for which no less than 15 lots are catalogued. Indubitably more work for all the subjects could have once existed, but the relative proportion of work indicated is significant.

Probably because of the thorough information which Washington Irving was able

to give Wilkie on all aspects of the Columbus saga, Wilkie seems to have found himself in the unusual position of having an excess of ideas. He certainly had difficulty in deciding on the scene at 'La Rabida' and there is evidence that he gave considerable thought to at least two other incidents. The sale catalogues mention several sketches for "Columbus first sighting land," and "Columbus showing his chart to Queen Isabella," but whether these ideas were contemporary with the Leicester group is conjectural, for no dates are mentioned. Certainly these subjects did not remain as first thoughts, for in the 1842 sale the discriminating representative of Colnaghi's paid a high price for a finished version of each subject. A clearer guide is given by a very interesting lot—number 231—from the 1960 sale, which was significantly dated January 1, 1835—the date on which Wilkie records Holford's expressed satisfaction with the progress of the painting now at Raleigh.¹⁴ This lot comprised a group of four pen and bistre drawings—"a version of Columbus discovering land, with studies for Julien Bereline, Columbus and Queen Isabella,"—which are all associated with the alternative incidents. It is possible that Wilkie was attracted by the greater possibilities of dramatic action and rich setting offered by these parts of the story, and may have considered them as possible partners or alternatives to the Convent scene. He may even have intended to produce a series incorporating all three, like his group of "Guerrilla" paintings. In any case his interest obviously reverted to his other schemes on nearing the completion of his "Columbus at La

Rabida." A further pen and ink design "for a picture of Columbus," signed "D.W. 1833," shows him bearded "in a broad-Sir Robert Peels," could have been either a version of the Raleigh composition to show Peel what he was currently engaged with or a sketch of one of the other incidents proffered in the hope that Sir Robert would commission it.

The catalogue information is always interesting but seldom complete, and one gets a less speculative picture of how Wilkie worked from a study of the drawings which still exist in public collections. At least seven are known and, with the exception of the Leicester composition, all can be assigned with confidence to a late stage of development. Despite his deep interest in the *Columbus* and its eminent suitability as a subject in the historical style to which he was newly committed, Wilkie has left no dated record of intermediate thoughts between the initial idea at the end of 1827 and the commission in 1831. This is not unusual in his work—for example, a directly contemporary subject, "The First Ear-ring," was conceived years before Wilkie left for the continent, but a gap of eight years (1825-1833) separates the early drawings from those contemporary with the painting. Just as the conception of the "First Ear-ring" is altered from a lower middle-class genre group to an almost aristocratic scene during this intervening gap, the character of the *Columbus* is elevated to a dignified classical level between October 13, 1827, and 1835.

The differences between Wilkie's old and new approaches to painting can be

seen within the Spanish group by comparing the "Spanish Posada"¹⁵ of 1828 with the finished *Columbus*. Both subjects began in much the same way, with a central group of four figures in animated discussion around a table (figs. 2 & 4). A brief comparison of the two original sketches made in Madrid makes the similarities of figure material and design immediately apparent. The completed works, however, could hardly be more different. The "Posada" has retained its interesting centre group with little alteration, but the intensity of expression is drastically reduced by the addition of a large number of surrounding decorative figures, whose contribution to the action has not been sufficiently worked out. The result is an exuberant and diffuse picture of a romantic contemporary Spanish genre type, far from the concentrated drama of the tightly-knit group illustrated in the Edinburgh watercolor. Although the "Spanish Posada" proved to be a very popular composition in England, Wilkie was evidently aware of its deficiencies, and for so important a work as the *Columbus*, he favored an economic use of material from which a considerable amount of its expressive power is derived.

Retaining the basic arrangement of figures and principal lines of the composition virtually unaltered from the primary colored Leicester drawing (as in the case of the other Spanish subjects) Wilkie eventually made two alterations in the figure distribution which altered its emphasis. Firstly, the introduction of a third figure into the left side and a revised treatment of these figures as a single pyramidal unit, isolated them from the figure of Colum-

bus. His pictorial significance was further increased by contrasting his dispassionate demeanor with the expressions of intense, newly-roused interest in the post and features of the other three men. These changes were probably effected during the final months of 1834, contemporary with painting the canvas, for Cunningham relates that during this period Wilkie "studied the composition with great care" and "wrought the whole into a clear consistent whole."¹⁶ The Henry E. Huntington Art Gallery has a fine study of "Three Heads" (fig. No. 5 which illustrates the improved arrangement of the left hand side, and which is dated, in Wilkie's hand "Novbr 8th 1834." This is the latest dated drawing for the *Columbus* to survive and includes Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the sea captain who accompanied Columbus, as a dramatic figure lurking in the shadowed background,—a device which frequently recurs in subsequent Wilkie paintings. It concentrates principally on sorting out the exact spacial relationships between the three heads using outline with a mere indication of the play of light. The head of Garcia closely corresponds with the features of the painted head which was put in from life, and could have been a swift sketch of Constable when he came to sit for this figure. The Prior is least like the finished version for he is shown beardless here and this detracts from his dignified appearance. An earlier sketch of the Prior, signed, and dated rather imprecisely "1833," shows him bearded 'in a broad-brimmed hat, with eyes looking down'. Very broadly swept in with black chalk and stump, this portrait sketch is large (12½" x 10½") enough to have been



Fig. 6 Sir David Wilkie
Chalk study of lower half of a seated male
Courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh

originally intended as a final study from which to paint in the head, but it contains too little detail to have been a good guide.

Perhaps lot 89. in the 1860 sale—"2 careful studies for the heads and grouping of the picture,"—fits into the chronological development at this point. One would expect to find either evidence that models were employed and heads painted in from life, at this stage, or that detailed drawings were made to scale, in order to provide a sound structural basis for the guidance of the brushwork.

The right-hand side was considered as a series of stable, vertical figures rather than as an animated complex shape. While it is quite likely that the figure of the son was painted "at once," from life without much preparatory work as the only recorded study is for his legs, (lot 267, 1842 sale), Wilkie made a careful draft of each part of the chief figure. One assumes that some of the general studies mentioned in the catalogues feature his figure and that lot 53 in the Windus sale a fine chalk drawing of "Columbus. One of the monks seated by his side" belongs to the earlier grouping while Columbus was still part of a single mass of figures.

In his supplement to the "Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain," Dr. Waagen records a "very interesting . . . fine study¹⁷ of the head of *Columbus*," which may have been a final working study, but Wilkie's approach to the rest of the figure is less conjectural. Recently a very interesting drawing came to light in Edinburgh. A well documented drawing, signed and dated "1834," was unglued from its mount and part of a seated male figure on the verso was identified as a

study for Columbus, (fig. 6) by Mr. Keith Andrews. As it has at some time been cut down on all four sides to accommodate the more highly finished and attractive pen drawing on the other side, the verso now measures only 10" x 8¼". Although it is rather stained and mutilated it is a quite spirited sketch of the figure from neck to ankle. Its function was almost certainly to clarify the precise positions of the table end and the legs of Columbus, for these are crisply drawn with no hesitations or obvious corrections. Strong shadows scribbled across the chest throw the hands into relief, while costume embellishments such as the sword, the slashing above his gaiters, the cloak with carefully arranged folds falling from one shoulder without obscuring the action of the hands, are fully thought out and correspond exactly with the painting. (Possibly lot 12 in the 1860 sale—"studies for the lower parts of the figure of Columbus. . .,"—was an earlier, more tentative trial of this courtly costume, which had evolved from the original simple, voluminous robe shown in the 1827 drawing). The working design was obviously created purely for Wilkie's own reference and, as is usual in this type of drawing, the hands (and probably the head also) were left as mere indications. In the same way that he selected the head and feet (lot 337, 1860 sale) for individual attention, Wilkie studied carefully the position of the hands, and used them as aids to the heads in expressing the tension of the group. Three groups of hand studies are mentioned in the catalogues and three sheets are held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London—one of Columbus's right hand, one with studies of Pinzon's right hand (D. 380. 86) and the last of

four rudimentary ideas for Garcia's left hand with one for the Prior's hand which rests on the table. (D. 385. 1886) The first sheet, which shows Columbus's hand holding the compasses, seems to have been drawn at a different time from the two others. The hand is precisely poised and tightly drawn in red, black and white chalk, and was probably redrawn in the more easy and relaxed position adopted in the picture. The two remaining sheets are drawn in an enlarged and elegant style. The foreshortening of the Prior's hand—in particular his thumb—is rather awkward, but the four trial attitudes, all at slightly different angles, made of the hand with which Garcia clasps his chain, are more confident, in particular the drawing he finally decided to develop furthest and use in the painting. The third sheet with two studies of Pinzon's hand, is an extremely delicate piece of work. With the staff and patterned material lightly pencilled in behind the sensitive outline of his hand, it forms a complete composition. Wilkie used the drawing again, in reverse, for his next work, Napoleon and the Pope, (National Gallery, Dublin)

where it appears as the hand of the Pope clutching his robe.

All the existing drawings are in chalk or soft pencil with color introduced into the figure groups, and although none in Wilkie's favorite medium of pen and ink have survived, the previous existence of at least five is recorded in the catalogues.

The major developments in Wilkie's draughtsmanship which are demonstrated by these drawings are a gradually increased scale, a breadth of treatment and a more frequent use of rough color notes. No oil sketch is known for the *Columbus*, no still life studies and no background studies, so to this extent he differs in method from his early work. However, from the increasing number of drawings produced for subsequent pictures, it seems that the *Columbus* marks the beginning of a return to his analytical method of building up compositions from a series of "bricks" or studies of individual parts of groups or figures (as exemplified by the Edinburgh drawing [fig. 6]). In this way the drawings for the Raleigh picture form a connecting link between Wilkie's experimental phase in Spain and the less classical vein of his later historical works.

NOTES

¹ An exception passed recently through the hands of Colnaghi's which depicted the figure of a priest, in watercolor, with a suggestion of two children at the bottom right. (10" x 7½")

² Allan Cunningham's "The Life of Sir David Wilkie," London, 1843, 3 vols., is still the best source. Other relevant biographies are those of W. Collins, T. Uwins, B. R. Haydon, and works by J. Burnet. The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, holds several letters written during Wilkie's travels.

³ Cunningham, vol. I, page 207 ff., 210 ff.

⁴ Cunningham, vol. II, page 72 ff. journal entries for July 20 to August 6, 1822.

⁵ In 1823 Wilkie succeeded Raeburn as Limner to the King in Scotland.

⁶ A richly toned sketch in watercolors exists in a private collection in Scotland; a sketch of Van Dyck's family group in the National Gallery of Scotland, and there are others in the British Museum.

⁷ Lot 689 in the sale of Wilkie's studio contents in 1842.

⁸ For Wilkie's views on Correggio, see Cunningham, vol. II, pp. 450-51.

⁹ Cunningham, vol. II, page 414 ff.

¹⁰ Cunningham, vol. II, page 424.

¹¹ "A group of figures entering Madrid." Dated Decbr. 29th. 1827, published in *The Wilkie Gallery: a selection of the best pictures of the late Sir David Wilkie, R. A., including the Spanish and Oriental sketches.* . ., London, n. d.

¹² Witt collection.

¹³ Drawings closely following the Columbus composition at Leicester in style exist for the other Spanish subjects at galleries in Cambridge, Aberdeen, Blackburn, Oxford and Edinburgh, and in the Batchelor collection.

¹⁴ Cunningham, vol. III, page 92 ff.

¹⁵ Royal Collection, Royal Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London.

¹⁶ Cunningham, Vol. III, page 94 ff.

¹⁷ G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of art in Great Britain*, supplementary volume, "Galleries and Cabinets of art in Great Britain," London, 1857, p. 188.

NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

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VOLUME VIII

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JUNE 1969

American Landscapes of the 19th Century in the NCMA by <i>Nina Kasanof</i>	3
A Drawing by Arshile Gorky: A Study for Agony by <i>Robert Reiff</i>	17
Benjamin West's <i>Venus and Europa</i> by <i>Helmut H. von Erffa</i> . . .	23



Fig. 1 Thomas Cole (Am., 1801-1848)
Romantic Landscape
 Panel; 16" x 22"
 Original State Appropriation



Fig. 2 Thomas Doughty (Am., 1793-1856)
Early Winter
 Canvas on board; 42 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 56 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
 Original State Appropriation



Fig. 3 Jasper Cropsey (Am., 1823-1900)
Eagle Cliff, Franconia Notch, N. H.
 Canvas; 24" x 39"
 Original State Purchase

AMERICAN LANDSCAPES OF THE 19th CENTURY IN THE NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

by Nina Kasanof

Registrar, North Carolina Museum of Art

Natural landscape did not come into its own as a fit subject for the artist until the 19th century. In France, the classical tradition which had been started by Poussin and Claude Lorrain held sway at the Academy and its exhibitions, and popular taste demanded that nature in art be a precisely ordered setting for historical or genre anecdote, or mythological happenings. In America, where the arts had derived from the English and European tradition, portrait painting had developed as the main visual art, and landscapes were scarcely to be found. Until the end of the 18th century, landscape served a secondary function as a backdrop for the sitter in a portrait, or as an occasional change for the portraitists when they did views of the sitters' estates.

The germination of American interest in landscape can be traced to the end of the 18th century, when, between 1790 and 1795, four English landscape painters emigrated to this country. They were Wil-

liam Groombridge, Francis Guy, William Winstanley, and George Beck. Their work helped to introduce to American painters the possibilities of using their native scenery as subject matter. Also at this time the Robertson brothers arrived from Scotland to teach drawing in New York, and included landscape in their curriculum.

William Birch and his son Thomas emigrated from England, and designed, engraved and published views of Philadelphia. Thomas later became noted for his marine battle scenes done during the War of 1812, an event which stimulated other marine painters. Some landscapes were essayed by Washington Allston, John Vanderlyn, Samuel F. B. Morse, John Neagle and others, but artists dedicating themselves exclusively to landscape did not come to the fore until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. *A Hudson River Portfolio*, twenty aquatint views after the works of William Guy Wall, and Joshua Shaw's *Picturesque Views of American Scenery* appeared in the 1820's, and also at that time the literary romantics began to focus the public's attention on the grandeurs of our country's

scenery. In particular, Washington Irving's *Sketchbook*, and James Fenimore Cooper's novels centered attention on the Hudson River and Catskill Mountains country. William Cullen Bryant's poetry also stimulated a new interest in nature. In addition, an emerging national pride in the new democracy turned the people's attention to the natural wonders of America.

The Hudson River school, which was perhaps the first native American school of painting, was founded by the English-born Thomas Cole, and by Thomas Doughty and Asher B. Durand. Cole had come to America in 1818, and the following year made a trip to the West Indies, where he was deeply impressed by the scenery. He joined his family in Steubenville, Ohio, later that year, and taught drawing and painting. Encouraged

by an itinerant painter, he decided to engage in painting as a profession, and moved to Philadelphia, where he spent some time at the Pennsylvania Academy, and was impressed by the landscapes of Birch and Doughty. When he moved to New York in 1825, his interest had definitely turned to landscape. His first five landscape paintings sold immediately, and three pictures done on a trip up the Hudson River to the Catskills were bought by the painters William Dunlap, Asher B. Durand, and John Trumbull (who in particular admired his work). He was a founding member of the National Academy of Design, and was active in the New York art world, although he retired to the Catskills for long summers of sketching and painting. In 1829 he traveled in Europe, where he particularly liked the works of Claude, Gaspard Poussin and Turner. Upon his



Fig. 4 George Loring Brown (Am., 1814-1889)
View on Smith's Island, Norwalk
 Canvas; 34" x 60"
 Original State Purchase



Fig. 5 Samuel Gerry (Am., 1813-1891)
The Snow Line, Mount Washington
 Canvas; 26" x 36"
 State Purchase Fund

return, he spent more and more time in the Catskills, and wrote of the unspoiled character of the landscape as opposed to that of Europe: "All nature here is true to art, no Tivolis, Ternis, Mont Blancs . . . hackneyed and worn by the daily pencils of hundreds, but primeval forests, virgin lakes and waterfalls. . ."¹

Although Cole was a naturalist on one hand, he also had a strong sense of the mystic and the moral elements of nature, and held the opinion that different colors evoked different emotions in the viewer. Engravings after his fantastic allegorical series, such as *The Course of Empire* and *The Voyage of Life* helped to spread his reputation. His *Romantic Landscape* (fig. 1) is a work done late in his career, and shows a relationship with Claude in its

depiction of the setting sun's rays picking out a scene of wild nature; a lake is cupped between shadowed cliffs, and snagged branches suggest the rugged elements. Two Indians on the cliff are picked out by the light, giving added dramatic interest.

Thomas Doughty, who was mainly self-taught, gave up the leather business in 1820 to become a painter. By 1821 he had had eight pictures accepted for the Pennsylvania Academy show, and three years later he was elected a member. His landscapes became increasingly popular, and were distributed through such organizations as the American Art Union, and also used to illustrate guidebooks. Although many of his paintings were done directly from nature, he developed a stock formula, which he often repeated. He

traveled abroad several times, but lived mostly in New York. *Early Winter* (fig. 2) exemplifies the use of his so-called "silvery tone," evoking a wonderfully atmospheric, poetic feeling. The cold hush of winter surrounds the tiny man in his sled, alone with his animals in the vastness of nature. Although much of the color is muted and greyed, salmon tones in the clouded sky are echoed in the banks and cliffs. The hills are a foggy grey, and the trees seem shrouded in the same ambiance. Although the canvas is large, the painting is delicately done. The grandeur of the trees in relation to the life below recalls the composition of Ruisdael.

The White Mountains of New Hampshire was another place favored by the Hudson River landscapists, to the extent that the painter Benjamin Champney exclaimed that "the meadows and banks of the Saco were dotted all about with white umbrellas."² Jasper Cropsey, a member of the younger generation of the group, painted there, as well as on the Hudson, at Lake George, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Trained originally as an architect, he studied with the painter Edward Maury, and soon turned to painting professionally. He visited Europe, and spent several years in London. *Eagle Cliff, Franconia Notch, New Hampshire* (fig. 3) is a typical work, showing a detailed view of a settlement, including various genre details. Almost every figure and object is coupled (as opposed to the solitary state of Dougherty's traveler), including the people in the foreground, those at the water's edge, the cows, sheep, and the birds on the roof of the shed, in an almost Noah's Ark arrangement. There is a play of light over the tops of the mountains, and the sunflowers, vegetable garden, trees and rocks are all

depicted with naturalistic colors.

George Loring Brown's *View on Smith's Island, Norwalk Bay* (fig. 4) is a rather dry, quiet depiction of the scene. Brown studied in Europe from 1853 to 1860, and was a pupil of Isabey, but in this painting, with its tiny figures on the winding path to the left, there is an evocation of Dutch landscape composition, probably owing to time spent in Antwerp, where he studied the paintings of Ruisdael.

In Samuel Gerry's *The Snow Line, Mount Washington* (fig. 5) there can also be found a Dutch compositional element. The figures of the herdsman and cows entering the composition at the right, wending their way past tall trees into the middle ground, could as easily be placed in a Cuyp landscape as in this New Hampshire scene. The composition is distinctive, however, in its dichotomy of seasons shown by the artist. To the left, snow falls and the landscape is wintry, with cool colors prevailing, whereas to the right the scene is autumnal, and warm reds, golds and browns are used.

Two paintings of southern Appalachian scenery, viewed through the eyes of an artist familiar with European tradition, are those of William Charles Anthony Frerichs. Frerichs was Belgian-born and educated, and emigrated to America about 1852, living in Greensboro, North Carolina, from 1854 to 1869. In the painterly delight in rugged nature of *The Falls of the Tamahaka, Cherokee County, N.C.* (fig. 6) can again be found traces of Ruisdael. (The NCMA also owns a second Frerichs work, *Storm Over the Blue Ridge*.)³

As the continent opened up through exploration and the expanding railroad



Fig. 6 William Charles Anthony Frerichs (Am., 1829-1905)
The Falls of Tamahaka, Cherokee County, N. C.
 Canvas; 30" x 48"
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George D. Finch, Thomasville



Fig. 7 Thomas Moran (Am., 1837-1926)
Marine Sunset
 Canvas; 33¼" x 50¼"
 Phifer Funds



Fig. 8 Edward Moran (Am., 1829-1901)
The Clam Diggers
 Canvas; 12" x 18"
 Gift of Robert F. Phifer

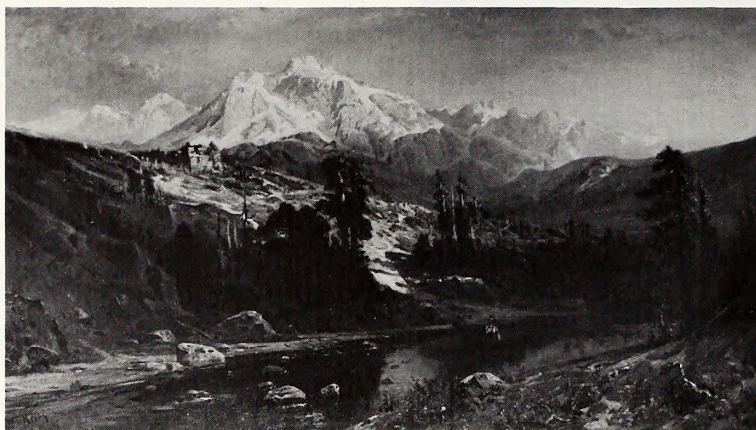


Fig. 9 William Keith (Am., 1839-1911)
View in the High Sierras
 Canvas; 40" x 72"
 Original State Purchase

lines, other artists moved westward for their inspiration. In paintings of the Rocky Mountains, the Grand Canyon, Yosemite, and other such wonders, the views covered on a canvas became more and more panoramic, and the handling of the brush more and more broad than that of the early Hudson River painters. In the mid-century the far west drew such artists as Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran and William Keith. The NCMA has examples of the work of these latter two. Moran, who was born in England, was the brother and pupil of Edward Moran. He came to this country as a child but visited Europe in 1862, where he was deeply impressed by the work of Turner. This influence can be seen in *Marine Sunset* (fig. 7), a painting inspired by lines from Longfellow's *Hiawatha*:

Fiercely the red sun descending
 Burned his way along the heavens

Moran made a series of drawings based on *Hiawatha*, but *Marine Sunset* is probably the only painting of the subject. The picture is a tour-de-force of the painter's skill in its depiction of the brilliant play of light as the sun sets in Claudian splendor, while yellows, golds, and oranges seem to sky-rocket from the water below. The cliffs are bathed in the ruddy light, and in slate-cool tones on the side opposite the sun. The brush strokes forming the waves are composed of myriad colors, almost with the effect of drops of oil in a pool of water. Gulls wheel over the waves.

In 1871 Moran accompanied an expedition to what is now Yellowstone National Park. The watercolors he did of the park were submitted to Congress, which subsequently passed a bill making Yellowstone the first national park in America.

Of his art, Moran said, "I place no

value upon literal transcripts from Nature. My general scope is not realistic; all my tendencies are toward idealization. Of course, all art must come through Nature . . . but I believe that a place, as a place, has no value in itself for the artist only so far as it furnishes the material from which to construct a picture. Topography in art is valueless. . . ."⁴

Edward Moran's painting, *Clam Diggers* (fig. 8), provides a strong contrast to his brother's work. After his arrival in America from England, Edward studied with James Hamilton and Paul Weber in Philadelphia, and at the Royal Academy in London in 1862. He later settled in New York. *Clam Diggers* has the fresh and airy feeling of an early impressionist study or a Boudin beach scene, with its observation of light splashing upon the figures and the sea. The clouds and shadows are accurately observed, and the atmosphere of an uncertain day is achieved. Rather than a detailed rendering, few strokes are used to suggest much.

William Keith was born in Scotland, but came to this country as a boy. He began his career as an engraver for *Harper's Weekly*, in New York, but moved to California in 1859, where he took up landscape painting. He worked for the Northern Pacific Railroad, painting scenes along its route, and later studied art in Europe with Oswald Achenbach and Carl Marr. A leader in California art, he was noted for his depictions of scenery in Oregon, the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone Park, as well. *View in the High Sierras* (fig. 9) is a grand scale view of the magnificence of the mountain scenery. Light plays in a bold manner diagonally across the picture, with trees forming vertical counterplays. A further accent is formed

by the two tiny riders in the river. The painter has displayed facile skill, and a bold display of color, using earth colors and golds to set off the sunlit snowy peaks, placed against a bright blue sky. Keith exhibited the painting in 1888 (eleven years after it was painted) at a price of \$5,000.

The next group of artists to be considered are those whose approaches diverged from the mainstream of the now established landscape tradition. Homer Martin was born in Albany, New York, and was encouraged to become a painter by the sculptor Erastus Dow Palmer. Although he spent much of his life in New York, trips to England and France, and a prolonged stay in France (mainly Normandy), introduced him to the work of Constable and the Barbizon painters. *Salt Meadows* (fig. 10), a late work, seems impressionist in its use of shimmering broken color, and its atmospheric study of light and water. Detail is submerged in the general effect. The chiefly horizontal brush strokes are broken by few verticals, and by some diagonals in the clouds.

Of all the 19th century American landscapists, the most varied in style and subject was Winslow Homer. Homer brought a new realism to American art at a time when the romanticism of the Hudson River school still dominated. Brought up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he was apprenticed to a lithographer, but at twenty-one became a free-lance illustrator, submitting work to *Harper's Weekly*. During the Civil War he worked at the front as a staff artist for *Harper's*. At the end of the war he returned to the country to paint from nature. Aside from brief studies with Frédéric Rondel and at the National Academy, Homer taught himself to paint. His

experience as an illustrator had taught him to observe and record essential forms quickly. His approach to the depiction of rural life was one of realism devoid of sentimentality. Children and their wonder at life are often represented, and outdoor light and color as they appear to the eye become important elements in these paintings. Homer's work is often compared to that of the Impressionists working contemporaneously in France. *Weaning the Calf* (fig. 11) comes from this period. (Three oil studies, a watercolor and a drawing for this painting are also known.) Spots of broken color enliven the composition, and light seems to lie with an almost tangible expression on the middle ground figures. The tension between the

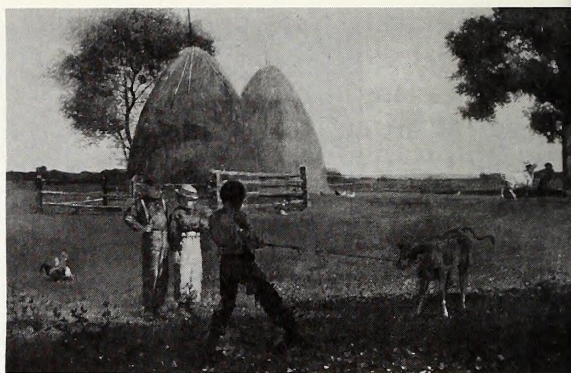


Fig. 11 Winslow Homer (Am., 1832-1910)
Weaning of the Calf
Canvas; 24" x 38"
Original State Appropriation



Fig. 10 Homer Martin (Am., 1836-1897)
Salt Meadows
Canvas; 18" x 30¼"
Original State Appropriation

little boy pulling the reluctant calf away from its mother is a study in arrested motion. The cow, at the right, looks back, and one can almost hear her bellow. The huge hay stacks behind the three boys provide a strong contrast to the basically flat horizon line. The bright colors of the chickens and of the farmer's blouse also help to keep the viewer's eye moving with interest over the entire composition. Homer's later works were influenced by a visit to England, after which he began to produce his famous paintings and watercolors of the sea.

George Inness was born near Newburgh, New York, and grew up in New York City and near Newark. He studied briefly with French-born landscapist Regis Gignoux, but was mainly self-taught.

His early work was in the Hudson River school tradition, but visits to Italy and France brought him into contact with the old masters and the Barbizon painters, which latter group particularly influenced him. The naturalism of his work was retained, but from the mid 1850's on his approach became more subjective and romantic, and intimate scenes replaced his earlier panoramic landscapes. An increasing awareness of light, atmosphere and mood entered in, and his style became more painterly and broad. He became converted to Swedenborgianism, and for a time painted religious subjects; he visualized an embodiment of the divine even in pure landscape. In later paintings he became more concerned with the moods and subjective feelings evoked by nature, portraying objects in terms of light, color and tone. He remains the most important American romantic landscapist of his period, and the one who influenced most strongly the native landscape school. *Under the Greenwood* (fig. 12) is a late work, and shows an intimate, gentle scene with herdsboy and sheep in a wooded landscape. The colors and outlines are soft, and a romantic mood of the benignity of nature prevails. There is an almost melodious interplay of light and shadow, and the objects in the light areas seem almost to glow.

A writer-painter who studied with Inness was Elliott Daingerfield. Born at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, he grew up in Fayetteville, North Carolina, later studying art in New York at the Art Students League, as well as with Inness. Daingerfield traveled in Europe in 1897, and later taught at the Philadelphia School of Design. In addition, he wrote monographs and articles about contemporary artists,

such as Blakelock and Inness. His special interest was in painting mountain scenery, and he considered *The Grand Canyon* (cover) to be his masterpiece. The viewer's eye is led by the tree at left into an immense vista, with a fantastic range of colors playing over the magnificent scene. The canyon colors shade from grey-whites and pastel shades to vivid reds, and the clouds are accented with salmon tints. There is much building up of paint layers, providing the painting with an interesting texture. Another feature is the unusually flat horizon line. An earlier Daingerfield

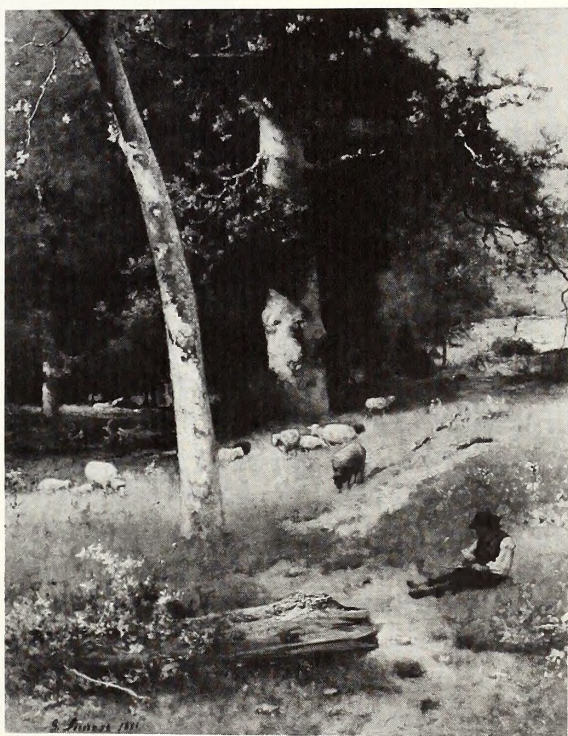


Fig. 12 George Inness (Am., 1824-1894)
Under the Greenwood
Canvas; 36" x 29"
Original State Appropriation



Fig. 13 Elliott Daingerfield (Am., 1859-1932)
Evening Glow
 Board; 12" x 16"
 Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Aubrey Lee Brooks, Greensboro



Fig. 14 Ralph Blakelock (Am., 1847-1919)
Sunrise
 Canvas; 20" x 32"
 Original State Appropriation



Fig. 15 Ralph Albert Blakelock (Am., 1847-1919)
Moonlight
 Canvas; 23½" x 27¾"
 Gift of Mr. George B. Harrington, Chicago



Fig. 16 Albert Pinkham Ryder (Am., 1847-1917)
The Pasture
 Panel; 12" x 15"
 Phifer Funds

painting in the collection of the NCMA is *Evening Glow* (fig. 13). In it can be detected the influence of Inness with its feeling of intimacy. An orange glow sets off a solitary figure, and the background is marked with snatches of brilliant green against the basic umbers and ochres. There is a suggestion of Blakelock's earlier landscapes.

Ralph Blakelock was by nature nervous and imaginative. Largely self-taught, he studied at Cooper Union in New York. Ryder's rich color effects interested him particularly. *Sunrise* (fig. 14) was his first dated painting of which we have knowledge, done in 1868 when the artist was twenty-one. It might almost have been produced by a Hudson River school artist, yet a certain looseness of execution and vague sense of melancholy foretell his later style. Travels in the far west gave

him an interest in the Indian, which he used often as a symbol in romantic scenes. His forms became more simplified over the years, and many of his pictures seem to be dreamed rather than seen. Blakelock was not successful in selling his pictures to the public, which preferred Bierstadt type panoramas and soft romantic realism. In 1891 he suffered a mental breakdown, and several years later was confined to a mental institution. Recognition began to come then, but it was too late. *Moonlight* (fig. 15) exemplifies his mature style, with its silhouetted trees set against luminous skies, water reflecting the moonlight, and layers of luminous glazes.

The last artist to be discussed is Albert Pinkham Ryder. He was born and brought up in the whaling town of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and began painting outdoors without any regular instruction. He

later moved to New York, and studied at the National Academy of Design. His early paintings, first exhibited in 1873, were small reminiscences of New England country scenes, often with figures or cattle. In these can be seen the simple, mysteriously poetic essence which was to become his hallmark. This simplicity can be deceptive at first glance, as in *The Pasture* (fig. 16). An orange-brown cow looks toward a house set in an almost bare landscape. Yet in this painting, as in Ryder's other works, much is intimated which cannot be seen. A brooding quality of isolation is suggested by the cow, the largest object in the composition, and her steady preoccupation with the house and its unseen life within.

After several trips abroad, Ryder's works of the 1880's treat imaginative sub-

jects drawn from such sources as the Bible, classical mythology, romantic poetry and Wagner. These later paintings were intensely personal and dramatic conceptions. Ryder was unworldly, and labored long over each canvas, producing only about 165 paintings. In later life he became a recluse.

In the course of growth of 19th century landscape painting, an aspect of American art emerged from its European-oriented beginnings into what may be more truly called an American expression. Homer, Inness, Blakelock and Ryder in particular represent highly individualistic approaches in their work, diverging from any tradition of the past. In the 20th century American art was further to separate itself from its European ancestors, and to become a leader in its own right.

NOTES

¹Louis L. Noble, *The Course of Empire, Voyage of Life and Other Pictures of Thomas Cole, N.A.* (New York: Cornish, Lamport and Company, 1853), pp. 125-126; quoted by James Thrall Soby and Dorothy C. Miller, *Romantic Painting in America* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1943), p. 15.

²Oliver W. Larkin, *Art and Life in America* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1949), p. 204.

³This painting, as well as some other 19th century American landscapes in the collection of the NCMA, is illustrated in *American Paintings to 1900* (Raleigh: NCMA, 1966).

⁴Thomas Moran in conversation with G. W. Sheldon, as quoted by Sheldon in his book, *American Painters* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1879), p. 125.

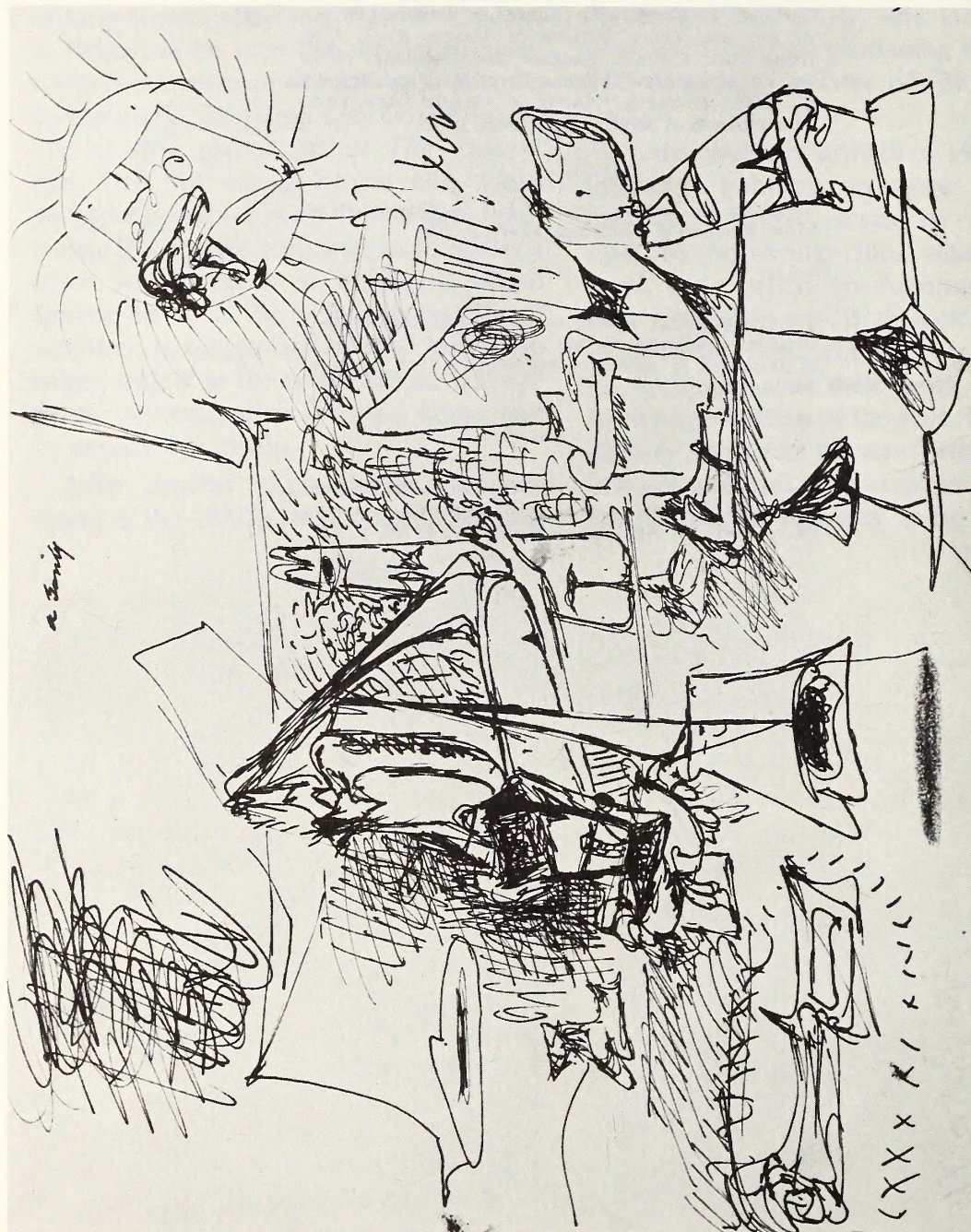


Fig. 1 Arshile Gorky (Am., 1904-1948)

Study for "Agony"

Ink and crayon; 8½" x 11"

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Foushee, Chapel Hill

A DRAWING BY ARSHILE GORKY: A STUDY FOR *AGONY*

By Robert Reiff

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From 1943 until the time of his death in 1948, Arshile Gorky concentrated most of his creative effort on pictures composed of forms which are non-representational. His aim was to forge an expressive language to articulate to himself and to others feelings so personal, so deep within him, so mysterious, they could not be defined by conventional means. Through art he sought to discover and reveal his true nature as an artist and as a man and to accomplish this with force and clarity.

Gorky was to achieve his aim as an artist by substituting "object matter" for subject matter; the objects were invented by amalgamating a host of forms which were pregnant with associations. Subject matter deals with images of recognizable phenomena. One responds directly to those images by identifying them even though one may not comprehend their full significance. For one who sees Leonardo's

The Last Supper, for instance, as a supper party of sorts, the point of the picture is obviously completely lost. Since Gorky's late art lacks imagery which describes, the beholder is forced to depend on his own reactions to configurations which he cannot classify or name, and which defy being classified or named.

The North Carolina Museum of Art owns a drawing by Gorky (fig. 1). It is a study for his painting, *Agony*, which is in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, through the A. Conger Goodyear Fund, and which, like the drawing, is dated 1947 (fig. 2). The Raleigh drawing is a gift to the Museum of Mr. and Mrs. John Foushee of Chapel Hill.¹ It is one of several Gorky made over a two-year period in preparation for the painting. The museum's drawing is clearly a working drawing. The artist made it in order to visualize better a stage in the development of a work of art usually in another medium, in this case oil paint. Compared to those drawings which are independent works of art, the working drawing is generally cruder in execution and conception. Lines are retraced as

searches are made for artistic solutions. Shifts and adjustments are evident and forms are often impatiently inscribed in a rapid, slap-dash fashion. The drawing is meant to be seen by the artist alone and is considered expendable by him since his goal in making it is to further his conception of a more ambitious project. Working drawings, and they constitute the bulk of Gorky's drawings that have come down to us, tend to make up in spontaneity and verve what they lack in finish and unity. Certainly the drawing in the museum's collection is equal in every respect to those other studies² for *Agony* which are now part of the estate of the artist.

Neither the final work nor any of the studies communicate explicitly or implicitly the idea of "agony." Once given the title, it is true one might read into the work certain notions of torment and anguish. The title is more likely to describe the mental state of the artist, who was in a wretched frame of mind at the time he painted the work. In January, 1946, he saw his studio and several of his pictures destroyed by fire. A month later, he was operated on for cancer. Just as he was beginning to receive recognition for his art, and it was developing to his satisfaction, there was one tragic occurrence after another. In blackest despair in 1948, he hanged himself.

The painting is a failure if its intent is to suggest "agony" to the beholder. The color is too warm, too delicately harmonized, and the forms too elegantly conceived in brisk line and exquisitely constructed, to communicate extreme mental torment. Gorky's titles, in general, are poetic and evocative rather than descriptive. Titles such as *The Liver is the Cock's Comb*, *The Diary of a Seducer*, and *Good*

Afternoon, *Mrs. Lincoln* are like single-lined poems attached to the paintings as a form of bonus. *Agony* must have had a special significance for him, however, because, unlike most of his paintings, it did not evolve from one drawing but several, over a period of more than a year. The working drawings bear evidence of struggle, for while they all have elements in common, they are markedly different from one another and from the final painting.

In comparing the preparatory drawing in Raleigh to the final oil, now in New York, the outstanding differences are compositional; they have much in common. The upright, tilted conglomerate units in both the drawing and painting appear to be suspended. The space impresses one as shallow. In the painting, the groupings seem to float before an illumined screen, like frosted glass except it palpitates with shifts of tone. Gorky establishes a spatial continuum without defining it in terms one can point out. Depth cues are present. They must be, but on closer analysis, one discovers them to be fragmentized. Thus the obvious is forbidden to jeopardize the marvelous and arcane. Gorky senses the state of proper balance between artifice and effect and sustains it. In *Agony* and the studies for it, one can see how one reads "space" in a work in which none of the forms are familiar to us nor the environment either. Gorky divides the lower part of the picture from the upper about a third of the way up by concentrating most of his horizontals at that point. He thus suggests a floor and a plane rising up from it, like a wall. He re-enforces this effect further by seeming to tilt planes toward what seems to be a vanishing point. And then further, con-



Fig. 2 Arshile Gorky
Agony
 Canvas; 15" x 24"
 Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art

centrations of line in the drawing suggest pockets of shadow. Planes seem to appear before planes or behind them, thus stepping one's eye back into space. Of course, one does not have to interpret the drawing or painting as having any kind of space at all. But to most, a shallow space exists, then doesn't, then does. This kind of ambiguity is the very stuff from which all of Gorky's late art is created.

Much has been made of the character of Gorky's forms. This is only natural for indeed they excite suggestion and

demand interpretation. To most, the forms seem to have a mechano-biomorphic character. The dominating group of forms in *Agony* is described by William Seitz as "a fearful hybrid resembling a dentist's chair, an animated machine, a primitive feathered fetish or a human figure hanging on the rack, its rib case hollow and its groin adorned with petals."³ This interpretation is typical of the flights of imagination critics are inspired to when confronted with a late Gorky. Though one should add, few are as eloquent as Mr. Seitz.

Gorky concocts constructions of his own invention from forms and fragments of forms, which are expressive and evoke definite reactions. He employs analogy to communicate qualities so poignantly, paintings seem composed of essences of qualities. If shapes suggest hostility, it is because they are thin and razor sharp, because they terminate in points like hat pins which can pierce and draw blood. And the quality of the pigment is that of a stain, of some botanical juice or biological fluid extracted from some unfortunate living thing, a plant or a creature.

Nearly all of Gorky's late pictures suggest weightlessness and instability. They are like ethereal bas-reliefs. Shapes appear to float, and only because they resemble in some way natural and man-made objects such as ships, clouds, and blimps which float. For many, they recall the mobiles of Alexander Calder. Again Gorky states an analogy when he makes a plume-like shape which recalls smoke rising from a chimney or a parallelogram which resembles a sheet of paper tossed by the wind. It is the sum of all of these analogies which gives his works their impact.

In the painting, all elements are marvelously synthesized so that one does not

overwhelm another. And yet, it is the color which first impresses with its stunning beauty. The appeal of color is immediate and emotional. A black-and-white reproduction of it conveys the high level of intention and inspired order, but not the fullness of the drama and excitement. The color is striking, bold, and original. Areas of red gleam brightly against a golden brown, which serve mostly as a ground. Many of the shapes appear as if transparent and constituted of luminous gases about an invisible filament. Others seem as amorphous as after-images. Their seeming formlessness encourages the effect of a releasing of the color: all that was gross, carnal, and fleshy in the working drawings seems to have been vaporized in the painting. Many of the shapes are visions of phosphorescent glow, cold yet vivid, patches of neon brightness, silent and boreal, and those figures which are linear and geometric appear to be compounded with the luminous. In the drawings in preparation for the oil, Gorky, more or less, compensates for the lack of color with weightier forms and greater linear complication. It is as if these aspects were not deleted in moving from a graphic conception to a painterly one, but rather their energy were transmuted and sublimated into color.

NOTES

¹ The museum also has on long term loan from Mr. and Mrs. Foushee another drawing entitled "Study for Fireplace in Virginia," 1946.

² Four study drawings for *Agony* are reproduced in Julien Levy's *Gorky*, New York City, 1966, plates 172-175. Three of these same drawings and a painting done in preparation for the final work are reproduced in *Arshile Gorky* by William Seitz, New York City, 1962. The Seitz work is a catalogue for the comprehensive exhibition of Gorky's work held at the Museum of Modern Art. The painting *Agony* is reproduced in the Levy book in color.

³ Seitz, p. 40.



Fig. 1 Benjamin West (Am., 1738-1820)
Venus and Europa
Canvas; 28¼" x 36¼"
Gift of Mrs. L. Y. Ballentine, Raleigh, and the late
Mr. Ballentine

BENJAMIN WEST'S *VENUS AND EUROPA*

by Helmut H. von Erffa

Professor Emeritus of Art
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

The Rape of Europa (fig. 1) has been a favorite subject of many painters of the periods of the Renaissance and the post-Renaissance. Benjamin West (1738-1820) turned to it at least four, and possibly five times. Twice the sequel of the event is depicted in which Venus and Cupid appear to Europa after Jupiter had left her.¹ (He can be seen in the form of a bull with the eagle flying above him.) The note of the exhibition catalogue of the Society of Artists directs us to the source: Ode 27 of Horace. The poet tells us of the unhappy, tearful girl Europa who is scolded by Venus but later comforted:

Have done with sobbings;
Thine imperial fortune
Learn thou to bear as should
A queen: Thy name
Shall half the world take.²

Benjamin West is known to many as a history painter from Springfield, Penn-

sylvania, who, after a few years of copying old masters in Italy, became a great success in London; he was one of the founders of the Royal Academy, became history painter to George III two years after painting *Venus and Europa*, and in 1792, after the death of Reynolds, became second president of the Royal Academy. So careful was he in cultivating the image of a painter of elevated and inspiring subjects (or pictures in the Grand Style)³ that, when his friend Joel Barlow compared him to Rubens, it passed almost unnoticed and was, as far as we know, rarely if ever quoted.⁴ Yet the comparison is more to the point than one with Raphael or Poussin because both West and Rubens covered a wide range of subjects. Raphael and Poussin confined themselves to a classic treatment of their subjects. It is true that in the beginning West imitated Raphael, but soon turned to Rubens and expanded his range: landscapes, portraits, genre, mythology, religion, ancient and modern history, poetic and dramatic subjects. Had Delacroix known West's work better, he would probably have classified him with Rubens and Dürer as the "true" painter who "knows all nature."⁵

However, West differed from Rubens far as stylistic development is concerned. Rubens' art grew consistently within the confines of the Baroque; West's style ranged from a Corregiesque rococo style to a later Davidian neo-classicism.⁶ *Venus and Europa* is, of course, still rococo in spirit, and, as a matter of fact, very mundane in content. Europa was ravished by Zeus, and the admonitions of the Goddess of Love have an air of a Parisian Grande Dame who comforts the milkmaid that her lover was, after all, of very high birth.

The date of the painting presents a slight problem. In all probability it is the picture exhibited at the Royal Society of

Artists in 1768. The tenuous compositional relationship between the figures would make an earlier date more probable than the later one of 1770. The seated figure is in many respects not unlike the famous classic piece of sculpture of the *Sleeping Ariadne* (fig. 2). The gesture of Ariadne's left arm and hand supporting the head are familiar. The garment trailing down under the left arm of Europa seems to be inspired by that of the statue and Europa's sandaled foot points to Ariadne as well.

West carefully concealed in his *Venus* traces of the then too well known *Venus de Medici*. In this statue the head bends forward very much as in West's *Venus*.



Fig. 2 *The Sleeping Ariadne*
Fotocelere, Torino
From "Art Treasures of the Vatican"
Istituto Italiano D'arti Grafiche, Bergamo, 1950

Her arms are altered, but her shoulders and one hip and the stance of the Spielbein are quite close in both figures. West's Venus is slightly more attenuated than its prototype.

As to colors: the contrast of the light purple of the mantle of Venus and the chartreuse gown of Europa is just what we do expect in this period. Later, the color scheme of his paintings is usually based on the contrast of the three primary colors. The straps of the sandals are a delicate green that contrast with the bright red of Cupid's bow.⁷

The second version of the theme of the abandoned Europa (Mr. R. Osborne's) is larger in size.⁸ The composition is perhaps a bit more fluid and coherent. West chose another phase of the encounter of the goddess with the hapless girl. Venus does not scold her but smiles.

To quote Horace again:

By her, thus wailing,
Stood Venus, treacherous, smiling.⁹

The color scheme is similar to that of the 1770 version, but it has a much larger variety of colors. The picture, however, is closer to the text. Horace speaks of a standing Venus.

West did not, as said before, confine himself only to stories of Plutarchian heroes "to exalt the mind by exciting the feelings as well as the judgment" (Galt, *Life of B. West*, Vol. I p. 87). In the early and middle sixties West painted love stories almost exclusively.¹⁰ *Venus and Europa* falls into this period. True, he had painted *The Death of Socrates* at the age of sixteen, but this was a subject suggested by his patron William Henry. The only other heroic subject he painted, in 1764, was *The Choice of Hercules*, but the choice was between two women. West was then, as ever after, happily married and soon a devoted father. To love themes he added a year after the birth of his first son the theme of the infant that needs protection: *The Fright of Astyanax at the Sight of his Father* and *Pyrrhus Seeking Protection at the Court of Glaucias*. They were exhibited as companion pieces in 1767 at the Society of Artists. In both cases the infant was the hero.

Venus and Europa is the story of a girl betrayed by the most powerful god of the Greek Pantheon. Perhaps this fact in the eighteenth century gave dignity and grandeur to an otherwise sordid event.

NOTES

¹ a) The painting at the NCMA is dated and signed B. West 1770. It is probably identical with *Venus and Europa* taken from *The Odes of Horace*, Ode 27, book III, exhibited by the Society of Artists, 1768, 28½" x 36½". It is listed in the catalogue of John Galt, *The Life of Benjamin West*, London, 1820, Vol. II, p. 226. It is also listed in the catalogue, partly based on the Galt catalogue, in the magazine *La Belle Assemblée*, 1808, p. 16, which indicates that it belonged to West's own collection. A third catalogue is published as a footnote in Joel Barlow's *The Columbiad*, Philadelphia, 1807, p. 434. The painting in the NCMA was engraved by W. Sharp and published June 24, 1783, by John Boydell, London.

b) West painted the same subject with some variations (see text) in 1772. It is listed in Barlow as *Venus and Cupid Smiling at Europa When Jupiter Left Her*, 65" x 85". It was not exhibited at the Royal Academy and is not listed in Galt or *La Belle Assemblée* but appears in the catalogue of Barlow's *Columbiad*, p. 434. It is owned by R. Osborne of New York City, engraved by T. Cook and R. Pollard in 1797. L. Schiavonetti engraved the painting, but in different proportions, and used it for an illustration of Moschus *Idylls II* which does not fit the text. Moschus relates a dream of Europa in which two allegorical figures appear to her. They stand for Europe and Asia.

c) *Jupiter and Europa*, exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1765, which is in all probability *Europa Crowning the Bull with Flowers*, which remained in the painter's collection and was sold by the widow of one of West's descendants, Mrs. Catherine West, at Christie's March 18-19, 1898. Since it was of small proportions, 24½" x 30", and his early "poesias" were mostly of small size (see catalogues of Galt p. 231 and *La Belle Assemblée* p. 18), these two must be one and the same picture. The other candidate,

d) *Europa on the Back of the Bull* (in Calcutta), was of large size, 8' x 11', according to *La Belle Assemblée*.

e) There remains the fifth picture *Europa*, exhibited in 1816 at the Royal Academy. It is the only painting exhibited in that year. It may have been a duplicate of *Europa in Tears* which he had painted already twice before. The last three paintings mentioned are

unlocated. No engravings of them have turned up either.

² Arthur S. Way, *The Odes of Horace*, London, 1936, p. 78. The Ode is dedicated to a Galatea who is going on a sea voyage. See Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, Vol. I, no. 38 (bibliography), Penguin Classics, 1953. The subject is more fully treated in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* under *Europa*, (Stuttgart, 1894-1958, Vol. VI, 1287-1298, for *Europa in Ancient Art*, pp. 1295-1298.

³ The frontispiece for Galt's *Life of West* brings West's *Self-Portrait* of 1793. At his elbow are two volumes marked *English History* and *The Bible*, possibly in reference to the paintings he did for George III.

⁴ He compared him with Rubens "in scope and quantity." Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

⁵ Walter Pach, *The Journals of Delacroix*, New York, 1937, p. 537. "The true painter," he says about Dürer, "is the one who knows all nature, human figures, animals, landscapes, treated with the same perfection. . . Rubens is of that family." As a matter of fact, West painted landscapes and religious pictures at a time when he was still called the American Raphael.

⁶ West remembered in later years that his mind once centered around Correggio. He admitted a strong influence of the Elgin marbles. (Galt, Vol. II, 150 ff.) However much he was moved by the Elgin marbles, Fra Bartolommeo had at one point of his life replaced Correggio as the guiding light. For greater detail of this problem see my forthcoming book on West.

⁷ The color scheme is not unlike that of the painting at Yale, *Agrippina at Brundisium* of 1768. Muted colors of greys, greens and purple are flanked by areas of deep reds.

⁸ See note 1.

⁹ *The Odes of Horace*, Book III, Ode 27, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁰ Cymon and Iphigenia, Angelica and Medoro, Diana and Endymion, Venus and Adonis, Juno Receiving the Cestus from Venus, Jupiter and Semele.

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NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Bulletin

VOLUME IX

NUMBERS 1 and 2

Biennial Report Issue
July 1, 1967 - June 30, 1969

CONTENTS

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR. <i>Justus Bier</i>	3
REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT. <i>William T. Beckwith</i>	18
REPORT OF CURATORIAL DEPARTMENT. <i>Ben F. Williams</i>	25
REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. <i>Charles W. Stanford</i>	33
REPORT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICER. <i>Helen Tucker</i>	46
REPORT OF REGISTRAR'S DEPARTMENT. <i>Nina Kasanof</i>	53
REPORT OF ART REFERENCE LIBRARY. <i>Gaylle Garrison</i>	71



M. A. Moore, Raleigh Southern Bell manager, presents the first copy of the 1967 telephone directory to Dr. Justus Bier. They stand in front of the Boudin painting, "L'Entree du Port de Trouville," which is reproduced on the cover of the directory. The painting is on long-term loan to the museum from North Carolina National Bank.

Dr. Bier and Mrs. Marjorie Bell of New York look at photos of the art collection she has bequeathed to the museum. Mrs. Bell signed the deed of gift in June, 1969.



"Community Days," sponsored by the N. C. State Art Society, continued at the museum through 1968. Here, for Edenton-Chowan Day, are Mrs. Albert Ward, Mrs. Thomas Cheers, Robert Brickell, representing the Art Society, and Dr. Bier. They stand beside Riemen-schneider's "St. Catherine," an acquisition of the bien-nium.

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR JULY 1, 1967-JUNE 30, 1969

The highlight of the biennium was a year's celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the original legislative appropriation of one million dollars to begin an art collection. The museum observed the anniversary year from April, 1967, to April, 1968, and all programs and activities were centered around this observance. In commemorating the beginning of the museum, the collection was greatly enlarged by a number of gifts, important among which was a significant beginning of a collection of French Impressionist paintings, an area in which the museum previously was weak. Included in this group of paintings were works by Monet and Degas, the last of which was an anniversary gift from the N. C. State Art Society. During the year there were 57 new acquisitions, 47 of which were gifts. In the second year of the biennium 60 new works of art were acquired, of which 49 were gifts.

ACQUISITIONS

One of the most important acquisitions of the biennium was a sculpture of *Saint Catherine* by Tilmann Riemenschneider. Half of the purchase price was underwritten by the N. C. State Art Society, with the remaining half coming from the Museum Art Purchase Fund. The sculpture is an outstanding work by this master and is in unusually fine condition. The statue was in the collection of Baron Haniel, and it was acquired by his family, according to information received by the dealer, in the early part of the 19th century, when many altar works, particularly in convent churches, were broken up and sold at auction.

Edgar Degas' *Le Repos*, presented as an anniversary gift from the State Art Society, has strengthened our 19th century French collection considerably. It is a work supremely designed and executed in a manner typical of Degas, who was able to combine design principles of the old masters with a new luminosity of rendering his subject in an Impressionistic atmosphere.

Another significant gift was the painting, *Argus, Io, and Juno*, by Jean Honoré Fragonard, given by Mrs. Arthur W. Levy, Jr. of Raleigh. The work was recommended to Mrs. Levy by the museum's first director, Dr. W. R. Valentiner. It is a painting of outstanding merit in its sketch-like freshness of performance.

A portrait important on both artistic and historic grounds was given to the museum by Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, and was partially underwritten by the Museum Art Purchase Fund. Sir Thomas Lawrence's *Portrait of Antonio Canova* has a special interest for the state collection because it was Canova, the Italian sculptor, who was commissioned on the advice of Thomas Jefferson to sculpt the statue of George Washington for the capitol building in Raleigh. The portrait is a work of highest quality and is a definite asset to the British gallery in the museum.

A bronze sculpture by Canova of *Hercules and Lichas* was presented to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind by the Wake County Chapter of the Sixth District Auxiliary of the North Carolina Medical Society, in honor of the husbands of the Auxiliary members. The statue is the first example of a work of art depicting Greek mythology to be brought into the collection

of the Gallery for the Blind. It was a model for the larger than life size marble statue which is now in Rome's Museum of Modern Art, and was mentioned by one of Canova's friends as having been cast in bronze when Canova was working in Paris for Napoleon.

Another fine addition to the British galleries was *Portrait of a Gentleman* by Henry Wyatt, given by Mr. and Mrs. R. Philip Hanes, Jr. of Winston-Salem. The artist was trained and employed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the portrait can be shown to good advantage next to our Lawrence paintings.

A *Portrait of Miss Udney Maria Blakely* by Thomas Sully was the gift of the James G. Hanes Memorial Fund, in memory of Lucy Hanes Chatham, and the gift of two anonymous donors. A silver service, which was given by the state legislature to Miss Blakely, the daughter of a North Carolina naval hero in the War of 1812, was given to the museum by Mr and Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Jr. of Raleigh, in honor of Robert Lee Humber, chairman of the museum's board of trustees. The five-piece tea set of coin silver, was made in 1814 by Anthony Rasch, American silversmith. The silver service is displayed in the museum near the Sully portrait of Miss Blakely.

An impressive still life by Dutch artist Rachel Ruysch was given by Hirschl and Adler Galleries of New York. Depicting tulips and roses in a glass vase set on a marble-top table, the painting is the second Ruysch still life to enter the museum's collections.

Hobson Pittman, one of the most significant artists native to North Carolina, gave the museum *The Conversation*, a large oil on canvas. The painting is an outstanding work by this artist who made his reputation evoking the spirit of the Old South through his paintings of the interior of southern mansions. The museum already owns two small oils by Pittman, one pastel, and four drawings.

A water color by John "Warwick" Smith, *The Ruins of Caernarvon Castle from the Interior*, was the gift of the English-Speaking Unions of Durham, Chapel Hill and Raleigh. The scene shows one of the best-preserved medieval fortresses in Europe, built entirely of hewn stone. It is a typical example of the interest of the Romantic period in which the artist belongs. This water color attracted the attention of the press during the recent investiture of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales at Caernarvon Castle.

Another water color, *Schnee Wetter* (Snow Weather), was presented by the Chapel Hill Chapter of the State Art Society during Chapel Hill Day, one of the "Community Days" at the museum sponsored by the Art Society. The work by George Grosz is a distinct addition to our modern collection, which is very small indeed when it comes to works by artists from foreign lands.

Henry Pearson, a native of North Carolina, gave the museum a painting, *Horizon III*, in memory of his father, the late A. Louis Pearson, of Kinston. The painting, 87 x 68 inches, executed in 1964, is one of Pearson's most representative works. *Horizon III* was first shown in a New York exhibition entitled "Vibrations Eleven," and later at the Chicago Art Institute and the Cincinnati Art Museum.

Forty-three items of pre-Columbian sculpture and Persian artifacts and weapons were given to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery by Mr. and Mrs. Milton Fischmann of St. Louis. The Fischmann's gift filled areas previously not covered in the museum's collection and was, therefore, a major addition. The items, which pre-date Columbus, were found in what is today the Pacific Coast area of Mexico.

Actress Katharine Cornell gave the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery a bronze Egyptian *Cat*, dated from the fifth dynasty (about 2,000 B. C.). The *Cat* was made in ancient



In December, 1967, Mrs. Arthur Levy, Jr., of Raleigh presented Fragonard's *Argus, Io, Juno* to the museum. Here, Mrs. Levy stands by while her granddaughter, Barbara Briggs, takes the gold gift wrappings from the painting. Watching with great interest are Robert Lee Humber, chairman of the board of trustees, and Dr. Bier.

Egypt where cats were thought to be the embodiment of the goddess of fertility. Baset, the goddess of love and joy, was supposed to have been a cat; and cats sacred to her were kept in her temples. When they died, they were mummified and placed in bronze mummy cases in the shape of the Cat which Miss Cornell gave.

A group of nine African artifacts from the Congo and Ivory Coast regions were given to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery by the May Department Stores Company of St. Louis. These items not only serve the Gallery for the Blind but also present an important area of primitive culture in the museum. The artifacts are made of wood, some with decorations of metals and beads, and date to the late 19th century.

Also given to the Gallery for the Blind was the contemporary statue of a horse by Manfred von Diephold, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Richards of Raleigh. The horse,

executed in 1958, was cast in bronze in an edition of six and is an interesting work for the gallery since the form can be fully explored by the hands of the blind students.

Percussion with Two Cones, a musical sculpture designed by François and Bernard Baschet of Paris, was given to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery by the Baschet brothers and the Waddell Gallery of New York. This important work of art adds a new dimension to sculpture in the gallery—that of combining form with sound. Not only can the blind perceive by touch but also they can actually participate with the additional dimension of sound. This is the first Baschet sculpture to be exhibited in the South.

A Jules Dalou statue, *Boulonnaise au Rameau*, was given to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery in memory of Eugenia Marshburn Stockard by her family and friends. The statue is of a girl, a native of Boulogne,

in a hood and long cloak which falls in bronze folds about her. In her arms she holds a book and a branch resembling a sheaf of wheat. The statue is an excellent example of Dalou's realistic sculpture. There is a version of this bronze in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Another gift to the Gallery for the Blind, bought through the Marjorie McCune Purchase Fund, was a *Head of Winston Churchill* by Clare Sheridan. Mrs. McCune, a social worker in Asheville, donated proceeds of a book she wrote about her dog, Toni, to the Fund. The portrait head of Churchill was executed in 1942, and there was an edition of 10 cast, of which our gift is the second. The first was owned by Churchill himself and for a number of years was on display at No. 10 Downing Street. Miss Sheridan, a cousin of Churchill,

modeled the head from life. About the head Churchill said, "I was delighted to be of any help, and I think you have produced a very fine piece of work."

A collection of 43 African and pre-Columbian artifacts was given to the Gallery for the Blind by Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks of New York. This collection, representing two cultures, gives an excellent insight into religious practices of that particular period. From such items as ceremonial masks much information can be obtained from the sense of touch, as well as visually. In the future we hope to be able to lend the African pieces to other museums interested in establishing galleries for the blind.

A bronze statue, *Geschwister* (Siblings), by the German sculptor, Emy Roeder, was given to the museum by Mrs. Charles Kist-



Tours for the deaf, the first such project at any museum, is proving to be a great success. Mrs. Neil Peyton of Wake Forest instructs the class in sign language.



Three paintings by Jacob Jordaens were lent to the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa for a major exhibition which received worldwide attention. Here, Hans Gassman and James McKeel help the packers prepare "The Adoration of the Shepherds" for shipping.

ler (now Mrs. Jean Wilson Hollstein) of Fayetteville, in memory of Mr. George C. Myrover. This sculpture adds a fine bronze to our considerable collection of German painting and sculpture with a theme that should be attractive to the general public. Emy Roeder holds a venerated position among the surviving members of the Expressionist School of German art.

In April, 1968, the docents of the NCMA presented the museum with a Dutch *Knife and Fork* (1756), marking the end of the year-long twentieth anniversary celebration. The knife and fork set is of very unusual quality in the sculptural execution of the lion bone handles. The set is in a leather sheath.

Dr. Robert Koch of Princeton University gave the museum a roundel with relief carving in mother-of-pearl entitled *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, in memory of Dr.

Clemens Sommer. Dr. Koch was at one time a student of Dr. Sommer's in the Art Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Sommer was also a former member of the board of trustees of the museum. The mother-of-pearl roundel carved by an upper Rhenish sculptor after an engraving of 1466 by the Master E. S., an engraver known only by the monogram, is a remarkable example of carving in this brittle material. It is evident that the Master E. S. and the carver who copied his design were both inclined toward a new realism which has been dominating German art since the middle of the 15th century.

An icon of the late 17th century was given to the museum by the Raleigh Fine Arts Society. This Byzantine icon was offered as the Raleigh Day purchase gift by the Society, which sponsored Raleigh Day



An autograph party for Mrs. Marjorie McCune of Asheville was held in the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind. Here, Mrs. McCune autographs the first copy of her book, "Toni's Tale" for Mrs. Dan Moore.

at the museum. The icon represents the Nativity and scenes relating to it, and it will add an entirely new type to our collection.

A lithograph by Mary Cassatt, entitled *Sara Wearing Her Bonnet and Coat*, was given in memory of Margaret P. Ehringhaus, who was executive secretary of the N. C. State Art Society from 1959 until 1966. The gift was presented to the museum through the Margaret P. Ehringhaus Fund. The lithograph, dated 1904, is a very characteristic work of the great American artist who joined the French Impressionists. It is an important addition to our collection of American art, as well as to our nascent graphic art collection.

Twenty-one works of art, including etchings by Rembrandt, were given to the museum by the late Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr. of Kernersville. Arrangements for the gift were made in 1966 before Körner's death in 1967. The collection contains works by three generations of Körners, Jean Jacques Henner, Albert Salzbrenner, as well as Rembrandt. The three Körners whose works are included were Jean Baptiste Kirner, his brother, Lucas, and their uncle, Joseph Kirner. They were cousins of artist Jules Gilmer Körner (1851-1924), the father of the donor of the gift to the museum.

Of the art purchases made during the report period, probably the most important is Claude Monet's *La Falaise d'Etretat*, which is a prime example of the Impressionist School of painting. The painting, dated 1883—a time when the Impressionist movement was in full flower—was acquired through the Museum Art Purchase Fund. *La Falaise d'Etretat* can well be used in the program of the museum to represent the historic moment embraced by Impressionism. The scene shows the cliffs of Etretat with its delicate shadings on the

water at sunset and its contrasting cloud formations.

Theodore Rousseau, the French landscapist who helped lay the foundation of the Impressionist movement, is now represented in the collection by *The Beech in the Forest of l'Isle Adam*. It is a canvas characteristic of the interest in untamed nature of the School of Barbizon artists. The almost silhouette-like appearance of the huge beech trees as seen against the sky is the sole interest of this nature study. The picture gives an interesting example of the work of the School of Barbizon, formed by French artists interested in landscape painting in which they blended keen realistic observation with romantic feeling for nature.

Another important purchase of the biennium was the *Portrait of Dr. Albert C. Getchell* by Thomas Eakins. Dr. Getchell was a prominent physician in Worcester, Massachusetts, and the portrait was painted when he was 50 years old and at the height of his career. Eakins was struck by the strength of the doctor's face and asked if he might paint the portrait, not as a commissioned work but for his own pleasure. The face expresses great mental energy and perhaps it is somewhat symbolic that the highest light falls upon the forehead. The portrait was painted just nine years before the artist's death in 1916. About Eakins, Walt Whitman once said, "He is not a painter, he is a force."

A German or Netherlandish sculpture of considerable strength was added to the museum's collection with the purchase of a relief in oak wood, an early 16th century carving of *Christ Carrying the Cross*. The relief shows the scene where Simon had been forced to help Christ carry his cross 295 steps from the house of Pilate, according to an inscription from another representation of the subject from the same period.

The inscription was on a Station of the Cross by Adam Kraft, the Nuremberg sculptor. His seven Stations of the Cross were created for erection along the roadway from one of the gate towers of Nuremberg to the Cemetery of St. John some distance from the city. The museum's oak wood relief undoubtedly was used indoors in a church setting. Its origin is not certain, but the choice of wood seems to indicate that it must have been made in northern Germany or the Netherlands. The attribution of the work to a Westphalian master of the time about 1500 is as close as it is possible to make.

A *Bust of Abraham Lincoln* by Daniel Chester French, which was used as a study for French's Lincoln Memorial statue in Washington, was made available to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery by funds from Reader's Digest, Inc., earned by Charles Stanford for his article on the Gallery for the Blind published in Reader's Digest in November, 1967. The bust of Lincoln was first shown at the museum in an exhibition in the Gallery for the Blind entitled "Portraits in Sculpture," and proved to be one of the most popular pieces.

LOANS

Loans from the Museum's collections during the report period totaled 35 works of art sent to 20 exhibitions throughout the country. Most of the exhibitions at which our paintings were shown were major ones, the most important of which was the Jacob Jordaens Exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa. This exhibition included paintings, drawings and tapestries from museums and private collections throughout Europe and the United States, and the publicity was international. The NCMA and its loans were mentioned in every review of the exhibition.

Some of the museums at which our works of art were on view included the Wichita Art Museum in Kansas; Los Angeles County Museum of Art in California; Portland Art Museum in Oregon; the University of New Mexico Art Museum in Albuquerque; The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York; The National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C.; the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design; the Baltimore Museum of Art in Maryland; the Seattle Art Museum in Washington, and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in Canada, as well as museums and galleries throughout this state.

CURATORIAL

An extensive program of temporary exhibitions in the NCMA was handled by the Curatorial Department, with a total of 17 exhibitions being shown on the fourth floor of the museum during this report period.

Included among these was "North Carolina Collects," the major exhibition of our anniversary year. A total of 125 North Carolina art collectors participated by lending 274 works to make up the show.

An exhibition held in conjunction with the publication of the book, *North Carolina's Capital, Raleigh*, featured approximately 80 photographs from the book's 191 illustrations. After the show the photographs were made available for a loan exhibition.

One of the most popular exhibitions was "Photography in the Fine Arts V." This display contained 179 photographs (88 in color) by 160 photographers and made up an international survey of the most exciting creative work being done today in the medium of photography. In accordance with the museum's exhibition policy of showing the various arts, this exhibition

showed the photographic art at its best, joining such shows as "The Family of Man," which was shown here in 1958, and an earlier "Photography in the Fine Arts" exhibition, which was shown here in 1965.

During the biennium the thirtieth and thirty-first Annual North Carolina Artists Exhibitions were held and showed by the increase in the number of works submitted that this competition becomes more popular every year. In the thirtieth North Carolina Artists Exhibition, 743 works were submitted to a jury of three, which selected 100 works to make up the exhibition, with 20 of these to be included in the 1968 traveling exhibition program. A total of 847 works was submitted in the thirty-first Annual North Carolina Artists Exhibition, out of which 77 works were chosen to make up the exhibition and 21 were selected to be in the 1969 traveling exhibition program.

In an exhibition featuring abstract art, the works of 36 members of the American Abstract Artists were shown on the fourth floor. This show included works by the three artists who helped organize the group—Josef Albers, Ilya Bolotowsky, and Alice Trumbull Mason—and attempted to point out the various trends in abstract art since 1936.

In the spring of 1969 a retrospective exhibition of works by Henry Pearson, lent by collectors throughout the country, was on view. This show included works produced during Pearson's early period, 1948, and progressed to his most recent optical-linear style of 1969.

The last exhibition of the biennium was "Look Back," a major show of Cubist art from the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas. Included were 55 works of art—paintings and sculpture—by Cézanne,



NCMA guards show off their new uniforms. Left to right are James Hampton, head guard, William G. Upchurch, J. T. Solomon, Durwood E. Moody, Aubrey R. Brasher, Brodie A. Senter, J. C. Jones, Arthur S. Woodlief, and K. Durwood Hill, assistant head guard. Robert K. Patterson and Walton O. Martin were not present when the picture was taken.

Braque, Picasso, and others.

The Curatorial Department published during the biennium a total of 11 catalogues to accompany the exhibitions.

Also undertaken under the supervision of the general curator was the restoration of 17 works of art and the framing of four.

During this report period two new exhibitions were added to the museum's list of traveling exhibitions, which are shown at galleries and museums throughout the state. These were "North Carolina's Capital, Raleigh," and "St. Leon Bouquet." The latter consists of 19 untitled flower arrangement water colors painted between 1830-40. The traveling exhibitions continued to be extremely popular, some being shown in as many as 25 cities.

The biggest news in regard to renovation and maintenance during the biennium was the moving of the museum's offices and library from the fourth floor of the museum building to the sixth floor of the new Highway Building Annex in March, 1968. The fourth floor of the museum was redesigned by architects so that it now consists of two large open spaces, with specially designed movable walls instead of fixed walls. This allows greater flexibility in arranging the permanent art collection, as well as in arranging temporary exhibitions, since the spaces can be made to conform to the particular exhibitions. The renovation also freed space on the third floor formerly used for a photography laboratory and a temporary storage room.

The Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, located on the third floor, was redesigned so that the gallery size was almost doubled. Two galleries formerly used for the museum's permanent collection are now included in the Gallery for the Blind. One gallery is an orientation room which contains an audio booth and devices for listening to a short history and purpose of the

gallery. The other gallery is used for changing exhibitions, and the original gallery now houses part of the permanent collection.

Four large windows on the street front of the first floor of the museum were bricked up to increase the security of the paintings and to provide badly needed exhibition space on the interior wall.

The new office space in the Highway Building Annex provides for a board room, with adjoining kitchenette and lounge room, a reception area, mail room facilities, and storage, as well as offices for the museum staff and the N. C. State Art Society. Prints from the museum's permanent collection have been installed on the walls of the main corridor where they can be seen by visitors to the offices.

EDUCATION

A new project was begun in the education department in March, 1969, which will extend even further the museum's services to handicapped visitors. The curator of education, Charles Stanford, who originated the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, initiated a program of lectures for the deaf. So far as is known, this is the first such program to be used at any museum in the world. During the winter a group of volunteers, led by Mrs. William Davis of Southern Pines and Mrs. Charles Reeves of Sanford, met at the museum weekly for instruction in sign language given by the Rev. and Mrs. Neil Peyton of Wake Forest. In March the first group toured the museum, led by the volunteers who used sign language.

The Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, which opened to the public in 1966, continued its extremely successful program of exhibitions for the blind, as well as the sighted, during this biennium. The gallery, which began with a \$15,000 grant from the



Jurors for the 31st Annual North Carolina Artists Exhibition were David W. Scott of Washington, D. C., Chapman Kelley of Dallas, Tex., and Charles B. Hinman of New York, N. Y.



Board members of the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation look at a new exhibition in the MDB Gallery for the Blind. Left to right are Mrs. James Semans, Francis Pemberton, executive secretary of the Foundation, Charles Stanford, originator of the Gallery, and Dr. James Semans of Durham.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was awarded a continuation grant of \$25,000 for operation and expansion in March, 1968. This grant was renewed in March, 1969. Miss Mary Switzer, Administrator of Social and Rehabilitation Service of HEW, in commenting on recent programs of the gallery, said, "I marvel at the achievements of the gallery under the direction of Mr. Charles W. Stanford, Jr. This gallery . . . has made an outstanding contribution to working with the blind and indeed to the community as a whole in its understanding of the problems of blindness in the enjoyment of art."

In this report period nine special exhibitions were shown in the gallery for which works of art were lent by collectors throughout the country. One of the most popular of these exhibitions was "Kinetic Art," which featured 21 pieces of sculpture by internationally known sculptors. This was the first time kinetic art had been shown in this area.

In May, 1968, Milton Esterow wrote an article about the gallery for the *New York Times*, and this article was read into the *Congressional Record* May 8, 1968, by Senator Sam J. Ervin, North Carolina's senior senator.

In May, 1969, Stanford received the North Carolina Award for Fine Arts. This award is given annually by the Governor to North Carolina citizens for notable accomplishments, and Stanford's citation noted that he "has become the architect of an enduring contribution to civilization."

A total of 72,485 school children were given guided tours through the museum by the education department during the two-year period, an increase of 37% over the preceding biennium. The total number of visitors given guided tours was 81,036. The number of guided tours amounted to 2,316, which is almost double the number given in the last report period.

The department continued the Sir Walter Cabinet lectures (to wives of members



The number of school children given guided tours at the museum increased by 37 percent during the biennium. Here, a group lines up outside the door, waiting their turn to see the works of art.

of the legislature), studying in this fifth series the nine schools of painting represented in the museum.

During the summer of 1968 two six-week programs for teen-agers and small children were conducted by the assistant curator of education, Mrs. Dorothy Rennie, with the help of advanced docents. This was the fourth consecutive summer for "Teen Tours," while "Treasure Hunts" was a new program for children aged three to 12.

The education department also continued its program of concerts and lectures for the public. During the biennium seven concerts and five lectures were scheduled, featuring both local and European performers and speakers.

Further acclaim was brought to the museum in the spring of 1968 when the curator of education was one of three people in the United States invited to attend a meeting of the Soviet Committee of the International Council of Museums in Moscow and Leningrad. Stanford read a paper at the meeting on the formation of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery.

The beginning and advanced docents' program was continued by the education department with a record 181 docents participating. The docents met each week for a series of lectures on the museum's collections and during the spring they guided groups through the museum.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

The museum attendance again increased over preceding bienniums by a substantial number of visitors. The total number for this biennium was 173,739, an increase of 22,498 over the preceding report period. For the anniversary year the total was 88,212, and for the following year, 85,527.

Twenty issues of the *Calendar of Art Events* were published, and for the first time since its inception the quarterly *Bulletin* was published quarterly.

Volume II of the museum's catalogue of Paintings, *British Paintings to 1900*, was published in an edition of 5,000, containing 54 reproductions.

A total of 147 news releases was sent to state and national newspapers, periodicals, television and radio stations, as well as to 20 foreign periodicals and 80 colleges, museums, and galleries throughout the state. A new high in inches of newspaper space was attained with a total of 14,383 inches, as compared with 3,210 for the preceding biennium.

In coverage by books and periodicals during the report period, the museum was represented in 25 books and periodicals published in the state, 36 published nationally, and 15 published in foreign countries.

ADMINISTRATION

As an agency of the State of North Carolina the museum receives its entire operating fund from appropriations by the General Assembly on a biennial basis. For this biennium, the state appropriated a total of \$661,837. These funds support the programs shown by the statistical data in the administrative officer's report. It may be pointed out that the appropriation for art purchases for the first year of the biennium included a special appropriation by the General Assembly in the amount of \$50,000 in recognition of the 20th anniversary year.

LIBRARY

A good part of this report period was taken up with the reorganization of the

library in its new quarters. In the absence of a librarian, the library assistant, Mrs. Janie Wood, was in charge of the moving and reshelving of books.

Through the library department the museum continued an active exchange program of NCMA exhibition and collection catalogues, with a total of 329 catalogues

being sent in this country, and 247 abroad. Of the museum's regular publications, 1260 were exchanged with museums in this country and 179 with foreign museums.

Justus Bier
Director



Tilman Riemenschneider (Ger., c. 1460-1531)

Saint Catherine

Museum Art Purchase Fund, and gift of the N. C. State Art Society and Phifer Bequest

BIENNIAL REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT

July 1, 1967-June 30, 1969

I. Finances

STATE APPROPRIATION—The North Carolina Museum of Art receives its operating funds from the General Assembly on a biennial basis. The operating budget for the museum is categorized into the main purposes listed below. All unexpended funds, except those funds authorized

to be transferred to the succeeding fiscal year to complete projects begun in the appropriated year, revert to the General Fund of the State Treasury at the end of a fiscal year. These funds appropriated to the museum are subject to the audit of the state auditor.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS FISCAL YEAR 1967-68

GENERAL FUND APPROPRIATION

	Budget 1967-68	Expenditures	Transfer to 1968-69	Revert to State Treasury
1 ADMINISTRATION				
1-1110 Salaries—Officers	\$15,501	\$15,500.04	\$	\$.96
1-1120 Salaries—Staff	21,176	21,176.00		
1-1200 Supplies	4,400	2,899.03	1,500.00	.97
1-1300 Communications	6,088	6,088.00		
1-1400 Travel	1,800	1,177.73	600.00	22.27
1-1500 Printing and Binding	94	86.43		7.57
1-1800 Repairs and Alterations	103	102.08		.92
1-1900 General Expense	1,393	1,387.22		5.78
1-2200 Insurance and Bonding	9,598	9,598.00		
1-3000 Equipment	10,163	3,599.07	6,563.00	.93
Total Administration	\$70,316	\$61,613.60	\$8,663.00	\$39.40
2 CURATORIAL				
2-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$43,695	\$43,694.03	\$	\$.97
2-1200 Supplies	2,250	1,541.40	353.00	355.60
2-1800 Repairs and Alterations	4,075	3,989.20		85.80
2-3000 Equipment	400	300.00		100.00
Total Curatorial	\$50,420	\$49,524.63	\$ 353.00	\$542.37
3 EXHIBITION EXPENSE				
3-1130 Salaries—Temporary	\$ 400	\$	\$	\$ 400.00
3-1200 Supplies	900	850.41		49.59
3-1300 Communications	4,694	4,693.23		.77
3-1400 Travel	570	542.26		27.74
3-1500 Printing and Binding	10,680	7,502.81	3,000.00	177.19
3-1900 General Expense	6,568	4,712.01		1,855.99
3-2200 Insurance and Bonding	1,483	50.00		1,433.00
Total Exhibition Expense	\$25,295	\$18,350.72	\$3,000.00	\$3,944.28

4 EDUCATION				
4-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$24,528	\$24,528.00		\$
4-1130 Salaries—Temporary	348	348.00		
4-1400 Travel	700	678.61		21.39
4-1500 Printing and Binding	120	52.48		67.52
4-1900 General Expense	1,700	431.50		1,268.50
Total Education	\$27,396	\$26,038.59		\$1,357.41
5 PUBLICATIONS				
5-1130 Salaries—Staff	\$ 7,264	\$ 7,263.07		\$.93
5-1500 Printing and Binding	7,200	6,735.97		464.03
Total Publications	\$14,464	\$13,999.04		\$ 464.96
6 LIBRARY				
6-1130 Salaries—Staff	\$20,306	\$19,121.93		\$1,184.07
6-1200 Supplies	110	104.86		5.14
6-1500 Printing and Binding	219	218.31		.69
6-3000 Equipment	1,550	1,545.93		4.07
Total Library	\$22,185	\$20,991.03		\$1,193.97
7 CUSTODIAL				
7-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$46,545	\$45,859.15		\$ 685.85
8 ART PURCHASE FUND				
8-3402 Works of Art	\$134,899	\$134,899.00		
13 RESERVES AND TRANSFERS				
13-1170 Merit Salary Increments	\$	\$		
13-6311 Transferred to Special Fund	7,000	7,000.00		
Total Reserves and Transfers	\$ 7,000	\$ 7,000.00		
TOTAL REQUIREMENTS				
	\$398,520	\$378,275.76	\$12,016	\$8,228.24
LESS ESTIMATED RECEIPTS:				
1-8110 Sale of Publications	\$ 2,700	\$ 2,536.85		\$ 163.15
1-8303 Transferred from 1966-67 for Deferred Obligations	38,673	38,673.00		
	\$ 41,373	\$ 41,209.85		\$ 163.15
GENERAL FUND APPROPRIATION				
	\$357,147	\$337,065.91	\$12,016	\$8,065.09

*For authorized projects begun during fiscal year but not completed

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS FISCAL YEAR 1968-69

GENERAL FUND APPROPRIATION

	Budget 1968-69	Expenditures	Revert to State Treasury
1 ADMINISTRATION			
1-1110 Salaries—Officers	\$ 16,500	\$ 16,500.00	\$
1-1120 Salaries—Staff	21,324	20,728.60	595.40
1-1200 Supplies	3,656	3,655.52	.48
1-1300 Communications	7,073	7,068.26	4.74
1-1400 Travel	2,303	2,054.44	248.56
1-1500 Printing and Binding	94	74.19	19.81
1-1900 General Expense	1,326	1,325.91	.09
1-2200 Insurance and Bonding	7,979	7,979.00	
1-3000 Equipment	6,421	6,355.14	65.86
Total Administration	\$ 66,676	\$ 65,741.06	\$ 934.94
2 CURATORIAL			
2-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$ 44,437	\$ 43,341.10	\$1,095.90
2-1200 Supplies	2,230	2,220.98	9.02
2-1800 Repairs and Alterations	4,039	3,940.33	98.67
2-3000 Equipment	507	468.47	38.53
Total Curatorial	\$ 51,213	\$ 49,970.88	\$1,242.12
3 EXHIBITION EXPENSE			
3-1130 Salaries—Temporary	\$ 78	\$	\$ 78.00
3-1200 Supplies	300	271.11	28.89
3-1300 Communications	3,200	3,199.70	.30
3-1400 Travel	870	751.33	118.67
3-1500 Printing and Binding	7,322	7,321.31	.69
3-1900 General Expense	1,042	881.70	160.30
3-2200 Insurance and Bonding	2,620	2,619.29	.71
Total Exhibition Expense	\$ 15,432	\$ 15,044.44	\$ 387.56
4 EDUCATION			
4-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$ 25,716	\$ 25,716.00	\$
4-1130 Salaries—Temporary	1,225	448.00	777.00
4-1400 Travel	700	618.52	81.48
4-1500 Printing and Binding	120	49.07	70.93
4-1900 General Expense	1,700	1,683.59	16.41
Total Education	\$ 29,461	\$ 28,515.18	\$ 945.82

5 PUBLICATIONS			
5-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$ 8,062	\$ 8,062.00	
5-1500 Printing and Binding	6,393	6,392.90	.10
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Total Publications	\$ 14,455	\$ 14,454.90	\$.10
6 LIBRARY			
6-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$ 21,290	\$ 21,150.00	\$ 140.00
6-1200 Supplies	100	65.03	34.97
6-1500 Printing and Binding	150	121.52	28.48
6-3000 Equipment	1,300	1,299.44	.56
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Library	\$22,840	\$22,635.99	\$ 204.01
7 CUSTODIAL			
7-1120 Salaries—Staff	\$ 44,292	\$ 44,168.61	\$ 123.39
8 ART PURCHASE FUND			
8-3402 Works of Art	\$ 50,000	\$ 50,000.00	
13 RESERVES AND TRANSFERS			
13-1170 Merit Salary Increments	\$	\$	\$
13-6303 Transfer to 1969-70	5,141	4,740.00	401.00
13-6311 Transfer to Special Fund	7,000	7,000.00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Reserves and Transfers	\$ 12,141	\$ 11,740.00	\$ 401.00
TOTAL REQUIREMENTS	\$306,510	\$302,271.06	\$4,238.94
LESS ESTIMATED RECEIPTS:			
1-8110 Sale of Publications	\$ 1,850	\$ 2,170.52	\$ (320.52)
GENERAL FUND APPROPRIATION	\$304,660	\$300,100.54	\$4,559.46

SPECIAL FUND— This special fund was set up when the North Carolina Museum of Art was established for the purpose of receiving cash donations to the museum. The fund subsequently expanded to encompass the operation of the museum bookshop and Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the

Blind. All funds, being in the nature of trust funds, remain in the account of the museum and do not revert to the General Fund of the State Treasury at the end of the fiscal year. These funds are subject to the audit of the state auditor.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS WITH BALANCE
FOR FISCAL YEAR 1967-68

SPECIAL FUND

I. EDUCATIONAL AND GENERAL PURPOSES	
Balance beginning July 1, 1967	\$ 16,021.08
Receipts	250,578.42
Total balance and receipts	266,599.50
Expenditures	245,070.00
Balance, June 30, 1968	\$ 21,529.50
II. COLLECTION CATALOG	
Balance beginning July 1, 1967	\$ 31.78
Receipts	7,349.65
Total balance and receipts	7,381.43
Expenditures	
Balance June 30, 1968	\$ 7,381.43
III. GALLERY FOR THE BLIND	
Balance beginning July 1, 1967	\$ 13,270.73
Receipts	17,808.00
Total balance and receipts	31,078.73
Expenditures	16,503.38
Balance June 30, 1968	\$ 14,575.35
IV. BOOKSHOP	
Balance beginning July 1, 1967	\$ 3,685.81
Receipts	19,585.32
Total balance and receipts	23,271.13
Expenditures	19,902.82
Balance June 30, 1968	\$ 3,368.31

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS WITH BALANCE
FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968-69

SPECIAL FUND

I. EDUCATIONAL AND GENERAL PURPOSES	
Balance beginning July 1, 1968	\$21,529.50
Receipts	33,644.55
Total balance and receipts	55,174.05
Expenditures	27,621.07
Balance June 30, 1969	\$27,552.98
II. COLLECTION CATALOG	
Balance beginning July 1, 1968	\$ 7,381.43
Receipts	7,459.35
Total balance and receipts	14,840.78
Expenditures	4,753.89
Balance June 30, 1969	\$10,086.89

III. GALLERY FOR THE BLIND

Balance beginning July 1, 1968	\$14,575.35
Receipts	12,580.04
Total balance and receipts	27,155.39
Expenditures	20,150.75
Balance June 30, 1969	\$ 7,004.64

IV. BOOKSHOP

Balance beginning July 1, 1968	\$ 3,368.31
Receipts	13,967.65
Total balance and receipts	17,335.96
Expenditures	9,388.50
Balance June 30, 1969	\$ 7,947.46

II. PERSONNEL

ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENT

Miss Edith B. Johnson resigned as museum bookshop manager in August, 1968, a position she had held since July, 1957. Mrs. Mary Lindsay Smith Newsom was employed to fill her vacancy.

Mrs. Eleanor S. Hanson was employed in November, 1968, in a newly created part-time position to assist in the operation of the bookshop.

CURATORIAL DEPARTMENT

Miss Johanna Raper resigned as a clerk assistant to the general curator in August, 1967. She was replaced by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Waugh. Mrs. Waugh resigned in January, 1969. The position of clerk assistant was reclassified as an assistant art museum curator and Mrs. Charlotte V. Brown was employed in April, 1969, as the assistant curator.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Miss Becky Hannum, who held the position of assistant curator of education in the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, resigned in August, 1968, to return to New York City. Mrs. Evelyn Rivers Wilbanks was employed in October as the assistant curator to manage that gallery.

PUBLIC INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

Mrs. Stella Suberman resigned as public information officer in July, 1967, after having held that position since May, 1961. Miss Helen W. Tucker was employed in August to fill the vacancy.

LIBRARY

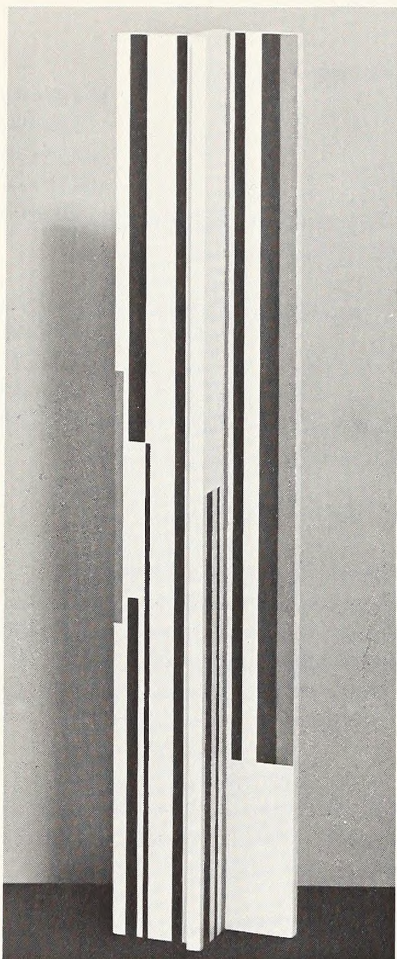
Miss Gayle S. Garrison came to the museum as librarian in June, 1968, replacing Mrs. Elaine Chu.

CUSTODIAL DEPARTMENT

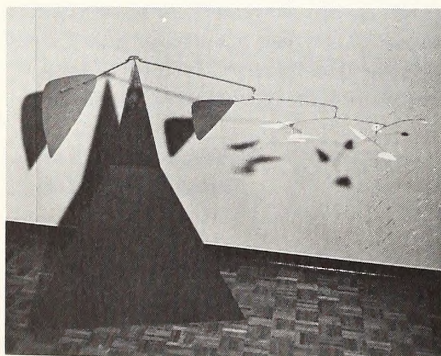
Mr. Jesse R. Tippet, who was employed as a part-time museum guard in July, 1967, died January 19, 1968. Mr. Robert A. Patterson, who had been a full-time guard, replaced Mr. Tippet as a part-time guard. Mr. Durwood E. Moody was transferred from a similar custodial position in the State Department of Administration to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Patterson's semi-retirement.

Mr. Thurman E. Stilley, a museum guard since December, 1958, died April 2, 1968. Mr. John T. Solomon was employed in the guard position.

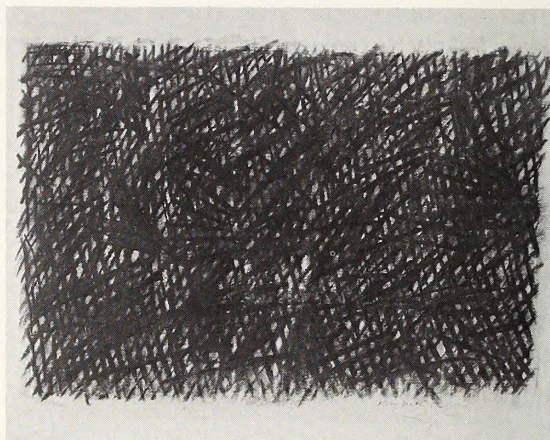
William T. Beckwith
Administrative Officer



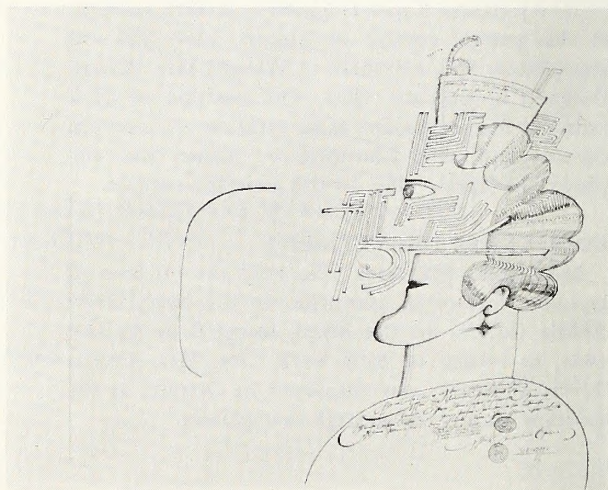
Ilya Bolotowsky (Am., 1907-)
Open Column
 Gift of National Endowment for the
 Arts and N. C. State Art Society



Alexander Calder (Am., 1898-)
Tricolor on Pyramid
 Gift of National Endowment for the Arts
 and N. C. State Art Society



Piero Dorazio (It., 1927-)
Drawing
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Bryant, Hamilton, N. Y.
 in memory of Dr. Clemens Sommer



Saul Steinberg (Am., 1914-)
Ariadne
 Gift of National Endowment for the Arts and N. C. State
 Art Society

BIENNIAL REPORT OF CURATORIAL DEPARTMENT

July 1, 1967-June 30, 1969

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

July 16-August 25, 1967

EUROPEAN DRAWINGS. A drawing exhibition circulated by the Guggenheim Museum of New York City. The show represented 37 of the best-known European names on the contemporary art scene from 13 countries. A catalogue of the show was provided by The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation.

October 10-29, 1967

NORTH CAROLINA COLLECTS. This major exhibition of our anniversary year, 1967, was a loan exhibition of North Carolina owned art objects. From throughout North Carolina, 125 collectors participated with 274 works of art making up the show. A reception for the lenders was held at the museum. A comprehensive catalogue of 282 pages with 274 illustrations was published by the museum.

November 1967-January 14, 1968

NORTH CAROLINA'S CAPITAL, RALEIGH. In conjunction with the publication of the book, *North Carolina's Capital, Raleigh*, of which the NCMA was a co-sponsor, an exhibition of some 80 representative photographs from the book's 191 illustrations (blown-up to a size of 16" x 20"), was installed on the 4th floor of the museum. After the exhibition, these photographs were made available for loan exhibition.

November 29, 1967-January 14, 1968

30TH ANNUAL N. C. ARTISTS' EXHIBITION. From 743 works submitted to the competition, the jury selected 100 to make up the exhibition with 20 of these to be included in the 1968 Traveling Exhibition program. A catalogue was published by the museum.

February 11-March 26, 1968

MARGUERITE WILDENHAIN, POTTER. 47 ceramics, exemplary of the wide and exciting scope of Marguerite Wildenhain's artistry and craftsmanship, were lent by this potter from her Pond Farm Pottery in Guerneville, California, where she continues to live and work. A catalogue was published by the museum.

February 20-29, 1968

GRAPHIC ARTS. A special interim exhibition of graphic arts—drawings and prints from the NCMA's permanent collection.

March 1-26, 1968

AWARD WINNERS' SHOW. Award winners from the 30th Annual N.C. Artists Exhibition were invited to show three representative examples of their work. Nine artists participated.

March 1-26, 1968

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE FINE ARTS, v. A selection of 179 prints from the *Photography in the Fine Arts*, a non-profit organization dedicated to the exposure of the photograph as a valid member of the arts.

April, 1968

JAPANESE ABSTRACT ART. A selection of 23 paintings and 4 pieces of sculpture from the Roland Gibson Foundation, Inc. The exhibition traveled to other North Carolina galleries under the auspices of the NCMA.

Summer, 1968

The changing exhibition floor of the Museum was closed during the summer for renovations.

September 15-29, 1968

WILL HENRY STEVENS. A selection of late works by this artist consisting of 40 pastels, charcoal drawings, watercolors and oils.

September 15-October 27, 1968

PAUL HUDGINS MEMORIAL EXHIBITION. Over 100 items of pottery lent by collectors throughout the country. A catalogue was published by the NCMA.

December 8, 1968-January 19, 1969

31ST ANNUAL N. C. ARTISTS EXHIBITION. From 847 works submitted to the competition, the three-man jury selected 77 works to make up the exhibition and including the 21 works to be in the 1969 Traveling Exhibition program.

February 9-March 12, 1969

AMERICAN ABSTRACT ARTISTS. One of the museum's most successful contemporary art exhibitions featuring the various trends of American abstract art since 1936 represented by 36 artists, members of the *American Abstract Artists* organization. Special events were held in connection with this exhibition. A catalogue was published by the museum and added to our library's exchange program.

February 16, 1969

DUTCH DELFTWARE. A small loan exhibition of Dutch delftware from the collection of Sydney N. Blumberg of Connecticut, a nationally known collector of medical and pharmaceutical antiques, and a consultant of the medical gallery of the Smithsonian Institution. This loan will be on view for an indefinite period.

March 16-April 13, 1969

AWARD WINNER'S SHOW. An exhibition featuring an average of 2 works from each of the 10 award winners from the 31st Annual N. C. Artists Exhibition.

April 7-May 31, 1969

HENRY PEARSON RETROSPECTIVE. A retrospective exhibition of the artist's work lent by collectors throughout the country. The show included works produced in his early period of 1948, progressing to his most recent optical-linear style of 1969. A catalogue was published by the museum with an original serigraph created by the artist for this catalogue.

June 22-September 7, 1969

LOOK BACK. A major exhibition from the noted collection of the de Menil family: 55 works of art, paintings and sculpture, by Cezanne, Braque, Juan Gris, Fernand Leger, Picasso, and others.

TRAVELING EXHIBITION

During this biennial two new exhibitions were designed for traveling, and crates were constructed for them in the museum workshop. These two new shows are **NORTH CAROLINA'S CAPITAL, RALEIGH**, which is composed of eighty enlarged photographs of important Raleigh buildings, some historical, some contemporary; reproductions from the book by Elizabeth Waugh, with contemporary photographs by Ralph Mills. The other addition to the traveling exhibition program is **ST. LEON BOUQUET**. This exhibition consists of 19 untitled flower arrangement watercolors painted between 1830 and 1840. They represent the delicate "ladies art" of the period and for the most part are the work of Helen Lockie Jones

and her sister, Mary. They were taken from a large, leather bound volume which had earlier been left to the NCMA by the late Helen Bailey.

In addition to the traveling exhibition of this museum, we have arranged for the loan of several collections which have been made available to other museums. The **JAPANESE ABSTRACT ART** exhibition from the Roland Gibson Foundation has traveled to 5 other galleries, under our auspices, since being shown here in April, 1968. From the last showing gallery in North Carolina, the exhibition travels to Tougaloo, Mississippi, before being returned to the Roland Gibson Foundation.

DURER "REVELATION" WOODCUTS

16 woodcuts designed by Albrecht Durer illustrate the Book of Revelation from the Bible. Shown in 16 cities throughout the State.



Mary Leath Thomas (Am., 1905-1959)

Muted Birds

Gift of the family of the artist

EARLY BOOK ART

39 manuscript and printed pages, dating from 1430 to 1590, most of which are hand-illuminated. Shown in 16 cities throughout the State.

EUROPEAN PRINTS (CONTEMPORARY)

Collection of 15 to 18 graphic works by contemporary artists who are best known for their paintings with the French School predominating. Most of this collection has been given to the museum by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Benjamin. Shown in 25 cities throughout the State.

JAPANESE ABSTRACT ART

A selection of 23 paintings and 4 pieces of sculpture from the Roland Gibson Foundation. Under the auspices of the NCMA this show traveled to 6 other galleries during this biennial.

JAPANESE PRINTS

40 framed prints by famous Japanese printmakers taken from the permanent collection of the NCMA. Shown in 15 cities throughout the State.

KAY-SCOTT WATERCOLORS

A new traveling exhibition consisting of 18 paintings, part of a collection by Kay-Scott and given to the museum by Dr. Kermit Knudzen of Chapel Hill.

MECHANICAL COIN BANKS

One of the most popular of the traveling shows. 24 unique mechanical toy banks, each boxed in its own labeled display stand. Shown in 14 cities throughout the State before being withdrawn for repairs.

NORTH CAROLINA ARTISTS

Paintings, sculptures, prints, chosen by the jury from the annual N.C. Artists Exhibitions. This show travels during the year following each NCAE.

NORTH CAROLINA PRINTMAKERS

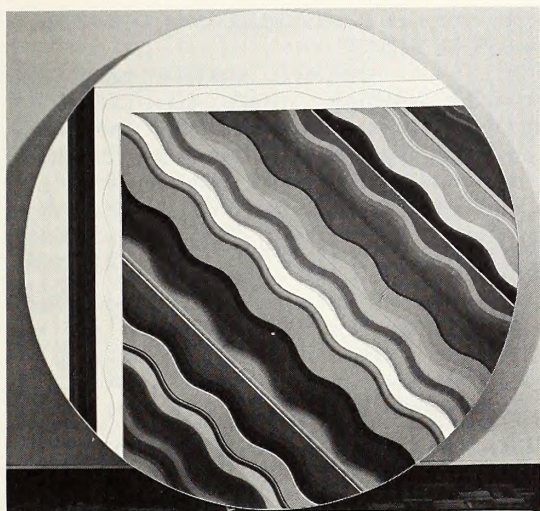
30 original prints by contemporary N. C. artists. Shown in 16 cities throughout the State.

NORTH CAROLINA'S CAPITAL, RALEIGH

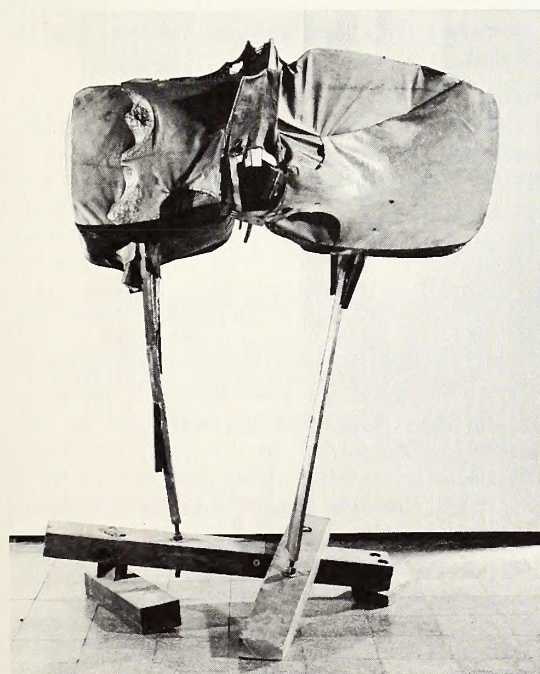
80 mounted, enlarged photographs of important Raleigh buildings, some historical, some contemporary. These pictures are reproductions from the book by Elizabeth Waugh (in conjunction with the Raleigh Junior League, Raleigh Historic Sites Commission, Dept. of Archives and History, and the North Carolina Museum of Art).

ST. LEON BOUQUET

19 untitled flower arrangement watercolors painted between 1830 and 1840. They represent the delicate "ladies art" of the period.



Dwayne Lowder (Am., contemporary)
Variegated ¾
 Gift of the N. C. State Art Society



Caroline A. Montague (Am., contemporary)
Construction No. 34
 Gift of the N. C. State Art Society

EXHIBITION PUBLICATIONS

North Carolina Collects. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1967. Introduction by Ben F. Williams. 282 pages, 274 illustrations.

Thirtieth Annual North Carolina Artists Exhibition. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1967. Introduction by Ben F. Williams. 20 pages, 11 illustrations.

Award Winners. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1968. 14 pages, 9 illustrations.

North Carolina Artists Traveling Exhibition. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1968. 10 pages, 18 illustrations.

Marguerite Wildenhain. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1968. Introduction by Ben F. Williams. 22 pages, 18 illustrations.

Paul Hudgins, 1940-1968. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1968. 58 pages, 89 illustrations.

American Abstract Artists. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1969. Foreword by Leo Rabkin. 29 pages, 21 illustrations.

Henry Pearson. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1969. Introduction by Ben F. Williams. 74 pages, 73 illustrations.

Thirty-first Annual North Carolina Artists Exhibition. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1968. Introduction by Ben F. Williams. 32 pages, 32 illustrations.

Award Winners. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1969. 16 pages, 10 illustrations.

North Carolina Artists Traveling Exhibition, 1969. Published by the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1969. 15 pages, 20 illustrations.

RESTORATION

Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577-1640)
 THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. ANNE
 52.9.107
 Original State Purchase
 Cleavage of paint film restored

Hendrick Terbrugghen (Dutch, 1588-1629)
DAVID AND THE SINGERS
 KGL.60.17.66
 Kress Collection

Bernardo Bellotto (Italian, 1724-1780)
VIEW OF DRESDEN
 52.9.145
 Original State Purchase

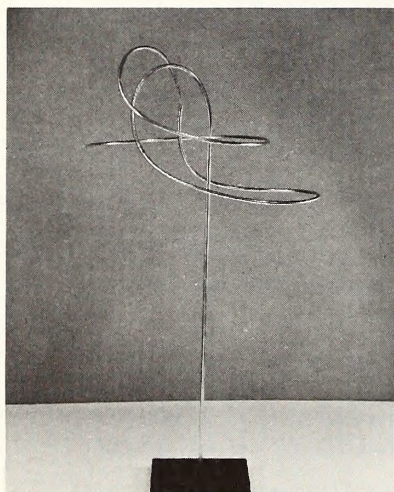
Jacob Jordaens (Flemish, 1593-1678)
THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS
 G.55.7.1
 Gift of John Motley Morehead, New York

French Sculpture (18th century)
FEMALE FLUTIST
 52.9.226
 Phifer Bequest

Carel Fabritius (Dutch, 1624-1654)
ST. MATTHEW WRITING HIS GOSPEL
 59.35.1
 Museum Purchase Fund

Jens Juel (Danish, 1745-1802)
PORTRAIT OF A LADY
 G.28.2.20
 Phifer Bequest

Barge Harrison (American, 1854-19?)
SEASCAPE
 Phifer Bequest
 Cleaned and restored, stretched on new stretcher



Victor Pickett (Am., contemporary)
Double Balance
 Gift of the N. C. State Art Society

John Frederick Kensett (American, 1818-1872)
COASTAL SCENE
 G.28.2.17
 Phifer Bequest
 Deteriorating academy board split and canvas removed. Cleaning and restoration revealed a charming painting which adds considerably to our American collection.

Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577-1640)
SELF-PORTRAIT
 This portrait was sent to us by the Cramer Gallery, The Hague, Holland, on approval and was damaged in route to Raleigh. We assumed the responsibility for its restoration which was carried out by a restorer in New York City.

Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606-1669)
ESTHER'S FEAST
 52.9.55
 Original State Appropriation

Govaert Flinck (Dutch, 1615-1660)
THE RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL SON
 52.9.41
 Original State Appropriation

Lawrence Lebduska (American, 1894-1966)
 Untitled
 Anonymous gift.
 Restretched on a new stretcher, relined and restored.

Etienne Ret (French, born 1900)
HORSES
 Anonymous gift.
 Completely cleaned and restored

Henry Wyatt (English, 1794-1840)
PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN
 G.57.47.1
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hanes, Jr., Winston-Salem
 Completely cleaned and relined with new stretcher.
 Cleaning revealed the signature of the artist.

Antonio Puga (Spanish, 17th century)
MORRISH SERVANT
 G.69.20.1
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Cone, Greensboro

Marco Zoppo (Italian, 15th century)
CHRIST OF THE SEPULCHER
 Anonymous Loan
 Extensive restoration by restorer in New York City, with transfer being done in Vienna.

Considerable restoration was centered around the 1967 exhibition N. C. COLLECTS. As a result of the exhibition, many of the works included in the show were restored and many owners requested restoration for the future.

FRAMING

James Peale (American, 1749-1831)
PORTRAIT OF REV. JAMES PATRIOT
WILSON
G.66.31.2

Jacob Eichholtz (American, 1776-1842)
PORTRAIT OF MRS. JAMES PATRIOT WIL-
SON, JR.
G.66.31.1

Dorazio (Italian, born 1927)
DRAWING. Charcoal
G.69.3.1
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Bryant, Hamilton,
N.Y. in memory of Dr. Clemens Sommer

Henry Moore (English, 1898-)
FAMILY GROUP
G.65.10.47

Reframing, and often initial framing, has been undertaken on works in the Phifer Collection.

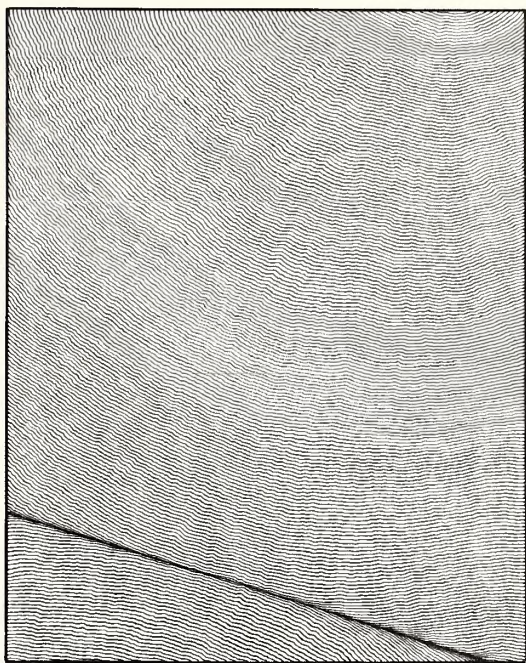
In preparation for the special interim exhibition of graphic arts from the permanent collection, 36 drawings and prints were permanently matted and framed by the Curatorial Department's preparator staff.

NEW MUSEUM OFFICE SPACE

In March of 1968, the Administrative Offices of the museum moved to new quarters on the sixth floor of the new State Highway Building Annex which adjoins the museum. This building has connecting doors to all floors of the museum enabling the staff to come and go at any floor level of the museum. The new space also allows for a board room with adjoining kitchenette and lounge room, a reception area, mail room facilities, and generous supply storage. Prints from the museum's permanent collection have been installed on the walls of the main corridor where they can be viewed by visitors to the offices. Carpets for the reception area and board room have been donated to the museum.

RENOVATION AND BUILDING MAINTENANCE

In June of 1968, following the move of the offices from the fourth floor of the museum building, renovation of the vacated fourth floor began, culminating four and a half months later in better utilized exhibition and work areas. Dividing walls were removed opening up the area to accommodate movable wall panels to allow flexibility of plan



Henry Pearson (Am., 1914-)
Horizon III

Gift of the artist in memory of his father, A. Louis Pearson

arrangement. In the exhibition area, the old floor was removed and replaced with parquet flooring. Existing walls were covered with fabric. New lighting was installed to be fully flexible. Old office and library spaces were converted to provide areas for receiving, uncrating and shipping of art works, temporary storage, and a large area for photography work.

The vacated space on the third floor, freed by the move of the photography and work area to fourth floor, has been renovated in various stages; partitions removed, walls repainted, etc. to provide space for the French collection and to allow space for the hanging of five sixteenth century English portraits. The long hall, appropriately lighted, is now a gallery for drawings.

The Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, located on the third floor, has been expanded to include more exhibition area and room for an audio booth. This area was formerly used for portions of the French and English collection.

The four large windows on the street front of the first floor of the museum building have been bricked-up to provide badly needed exhibition

space on the interior wall, increase the security of the paintings, and take some of the strain off the air-conditioning system.

Rubber stair treads have been installed on the museum building stairways as a safety measure.

INSTALLATION

Portions of the French and English collections have been installed in the old work and photography areas on the third floor. Drawings from the museum's permanent collection have been in-

stalled on the long hall, which has been renovated and appropriately lighted.

PHOTOGRAPHY

A large area on the renovated fourth floor is now occupied by the photographer. The processing laboratory remains on second floor.

864 requests for photography were processed by the museum's one photographer.

Ben F. Williams
General Curator



Hobson Pittman (Am., 1900-)
The Conversation
Gift of the artist

BIENNIAL REPORT OF EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

JULY 1, 1967-JUNE 30, 1969

PUBLIC TOURS

School children given guided tours:	72,485
Members of civic groups, clubs, churches, colleges and other organizations given guided tours:	8,551
Total number of persons given guided tours:	81,036
Number of guided tours:	2,316

EXTENSION SERVICES

Slides of the museum's collection, with accompanying mimeographed lectures sent to schools and civic organizations on loan:	3,560
Visits to schools to lecture in the field of art history, with particular reference to the permanent collection of the NCMA	
Consultations by correspondence and in person with teachers on methods of preparation for students visits to the NCMA.	
Teacher seminars and tours for county teachers in preparation for initiating new art programs in their schools.	
Consultation and training of out-of-town Junior League members in beginning programs in their areas.	

PUBLIC LECTURES

Lectures on the history of art, using the museum's permanent collection as a basis for study, to civic groups, colleges, public schools and churches throughout the State by the Curator of Education and Assistant Curators of Education.

SIR WALTER CABINET LECTURES

The fifth series of lectures was presented to the Sir Walter Cabinet (wives of members of the Legislature), beginning January, 1969, and ending in May. These lectures were held each Tuesday afternoon at 2:30. They began with the study of the American School of painting and continued through the nine schools of painting represented in the museum.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

During this period Mr. Stanford appeared on the program, *The Executive Mansion*, filmed by WFMY-TV, discussing the paintings of the North Carolina Museum of Art that are on loan to the Mansion. This was televised by stations throughout the State.

Mr. Stanford also appeared on WTVD, Durham, on various programs in which he discussed the new programs for the deaf and the blind.

The Curator of Education was also interviewed on the Student Teen Program of WPTF concerning the activities and services available from the Education Department.

A color film, "Portraits in Sculpture," was produced by WSJS-TV, Winston-Salem, with Gail Puzak and Becky Hannum. The Curator of Education gave a feature program on Leningrad and Moscow on WSJS-TV, Winston-Salem.

On July 13, 1968, Mr. Nikata Moravsky, Head of the USSR Division of USIA, requested through the Chief of the European Voice of America a half-hour feature in which Mr. Stanford was interviewed concerning his official visit to Russia. This was broadcast in Russia and Europe through the Voice of America.

On August 26, Mr. Stanford was again interviewed on a Voice of America program concerning the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind.

Mrs. James W. Reid taped five programs on the deaf project for transmission to television stations throughout the State of North Carolina.

Mr. Stanford appeared on the Lee Kinard Show in a feature concerning the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind.

ACOUSTIGUIDE SYSTEM

An acoustiguide system giving a tour of 40 masterpieces in the museum's collection with narration by the Curator of Education is provided by the N.C. State Art Society.

The tour covers all four floors of the museum, representing a survey of the nine schools of western art in the collection.

PUBLICATIONS

An illustrated text book, with an accompanying folder of 40 color slides, titled "Selections from American and British Painting and Sculpture," researched and written by the Curator of Education, was published during this period with a \$10,677 grant from the North Carolina Arts Council, using funds from the National Endowment for the Arts. This educational edition is on sale in the museum's bookshop, and has proved to be a popular item with the public, school libraries, and students, helping to prepare them for a tour of the museum.

An article, written by the Curator of Education, "A Report on a Meeting of the Soviet Committee of the International Council of Museums," was published in the North Carolina Museum of Art *Bulletin*, December, 1968.

An article, written by the Assistant Curator of Education, titled "The Portraiture of Thomas Eakins," was published in the December, 1968, issue of the North Carolina Museum of Art *Bulletin*.

The Department also added to its lecture series the following, researched and written by the Assistant Curator of Education: "The Kress Collection," "Furniture in the North Carolina Museum of Art Collection," "Self-Portraits from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century," "Alessandro Magnasco," and "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism."

An article on the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, entitled "They Find Beauty in the Dark," by Charles W. Stanford, was published in the November, 1967, issue of *Reader's Digest*.

A report, "Planning Operation of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind," was written by Charles W. Stanford and distributed to more than 5,000 agencies throughout the United States.

PROJECT FOR THE DEAF

A program of lectures for the deaf was initiated in the North Carolina Museum of Art this year. The group of volunteers, led by Mrs. William Davis of Southern Pines and Mrs. Charles Reeves of Sanford, was taught sign language once a week by the Rev. and Mrs. Neil Peyton of Wake Forest.

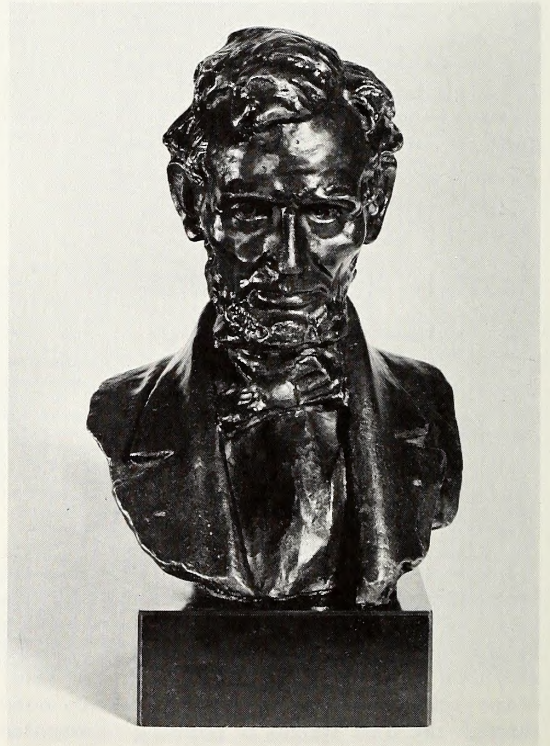
The first lecture for the deaf in sign language was given at the museum on March 6, 1969, to a group of 30 students from the North Carolina School for the Deaf in Wilson. As far as is known, this is the first museum to provide this kind of service for the deaf.

Mrs. Anne Starrett currently is putting Mr.

Stanford's two books—"Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art," and "Selections from British and American Painting and Sculpture"—into sign language symbols to aid the volunteers working in this program.

The volunteers participating in this program are:

Mrs. William Davis
Mrs. William Breeden
Mrs. Fred London
Mrs. Robert Cline, Durham
Mrs. W. W. Kriegel
Mrs. Hans Lowenbach, Durham
Rev. Clarence E. Norman, Cary
Mrs. Charles Reeves, Jr., Sanford
Mrs. James W. Reid
Mrs. Lee H. Sanders
Mrs. Edward Schoenborn
Mrs. John Tobin
Mrs. Frank Wilson, Jr.



Daniel Chester French (Am., 1850-1931)
Bust of Abraham Lincoln
Reader's Digest Fund

SUMMER PROGRAMS

Two six-week programs for teen-agers and small children were conducted during this period by the Assistant Curator of Education, with the help of advanced docents. *Teen Tours* was held for the fourth consecutive summer for ages 13-19. *Treasure Hunts*, a new program for children ages 3 to 12, proved to be a very popular summer activity. The sessions for both groups were as follows:

Treasure Hunts

- "What Do You See?"
- "Mothers and Babies"
- "Animals in Painting"
- "Boys and Girls Having Fun"
- "Bible Stories"
- "Far-Away Places"

Teen Tours

- "How to Look at Paintings"
- "Ancient Egypt"
- "Greek Myths in Art"
- "The Byzantine World"
- "The Renaissance"
- "How to Look at Sculpture"

Two other tour programs also were initiated during this period. These were: Lunch-Bunch tours for business people on their lunch hour, with just 15 minutes or so to spend in the museum; and the Golden-Agers tours, for senior citizens who could spend more leisure time in touring. Both proved to be popular with the public.

ADVANCED DOCENT WORKSHOP

The third and fourth annual Advanced Docent Workshops were held during this period. These sessions were attended by docents who had completed the introductory course in art history under the instruction of the Curator of Education. The 1967 and 1968 programs were as follows:

1967:

Gallery tour of "N.C. Collects" with Charles Stanford, Curator of Education, NCMA.

Docent "Tour-In"—Round table, open discussion on problems of guiding, etc., Mrs. James Reid, Advanced Docent, Moderator.

"Museum Architecture," talk by Harwell Hamilton Harris, Professor of Architecture, North Carolina State University.

"Raleigh Architecture from 1850 to 1900," talk by Lawrence Wodehouse, Assistant Professor of Architecture, North Carolina State University.

"Architectural Trends, Past and Present," talk by Brian Shawcroft, Associate Professor of Architecture, North Carolina State University.



Chinese, T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.)

Camel

Gift of Lewis M. Heflin, Lexington, Ky.

FILM: "Picasso." A survey of the artistic life of the contemporary master, Pablo Picasso. Color, 50 minutes.

"What Is a Reproduction, Print, Engraving?", talk by Edith Johnson, Manager, NCMA Bookshop.

"Introduction to Impressionism," talk by Mrs. Ira Julian, President, North Carolina Collectors, Winston-Salem.

FILMS: "Michelangelo" and "Five British Sculptors." Color, 65 minutes.

"Sculpture in the NCMA Collection," talk by Mrs. Joyce Isom, Advanced Docent.

"Self-Portraits from the 18th to 20th Century," talk by Dorothy Rennie, Assistant Curator of Education, NCMA.

"German Baroque in Architecture," talk by Dr. Justus Bier, Director, NCMA.

"Tips on Touring," talk by Mrs. Jeralee Miller, Advanced Docent.

Coffee Hour and sample tours given to the Beginner Docents by the Advanced girls.

Chartered bus trip to Washington, D. C., National Gallery.

Corcoran, Freer Gallery, Phillips Collection, Smithsonian, Dumbarton House.

1968:

Russia: Leningrad and Moscow, Charles Stanford, Curator of Education, NCMA.

"Presentation of a Work of Art," Ben F. Williams, General Curator, NCMA.

FILMS: "What Is a Painting?" and "Art in the Western World."

Talk on Romanesque Art, Dr. Robert Moeller, Art Department, Duke University.

FILM: "The Kremlin."

"Renaissance Technology," Dr. C. Page Fisher, North Carolina State University.

"Color, Pigment, and Medium," Hans Gassman, Conservator.

"New Acquisitions," Dr. Justus Bier, Director, NCMA.

Prof. Robert Howard, Art Department, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, talk on his work.

"Monet and the Impressionists," Nina Kasanof, Registrar, NCMA.

"The Parthenon and Neo-Classic Influences," Charles W. Stanford, Curator of Education, NCMA.

Dr. Philipp Fehl, Art Department, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, "Michelangelo."

Trip to Winston-Salem by chartered bus for docents, visiting Reynolda House art collection. Mrs. Barbara Lassiter spoke on the collection.

"Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," Dorothy Rennie, Assistant Curator of Education, NCMA.

Gallery talk on Abstract American Artists, Professor Joe Cox, North Carolina State University, School of Design.

PUBLIC EVENTS

Loren Withers, pianist

Lily Keleti, pianist

Giorgi Ciompi, violinist; Loren Withers, pianist.

Ray DeVoll, tenor

Veronica Jochum von Moltke, pianist

Romuald Tecco, violinist

Composer Thomas N. Rice conducted a program of his own compositions played by local musicians.

Dr. Erwin Panofsky, "Problems of Titian," Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.

Professor Carl Nordenfalk, Director General of the National Museum of Stockholm, Sweden. Lecture on "Radiography of Painting."

Thomas M. Folds, Dean of the Department of Education at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, lecture on "Inside the Metropolitan."

Henry Pearson, North Carolina artist, gallery talk on paintings in the Henry Pearson Retrospective Exhibition.

Campbell Wyly, Museum of Modern Art, "Light Forms in Modern Art."

SLIDE PROGRAM

The North Carolina State Art Society donated to the museum the sum of \$1,000 to start a slide collection for the museum staff to use in teaching volunteer guides.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Mrs. James W. Reid	\$ 75
Dr. C. Page Fisher	\$ 25
Junior Woman's Club	\$ 25
1968-69 Docents	\$115
Charles W. Stanford Fund	\$ 25

REPORT OF THE MARY DUKE BIDDLE GALLERY

The gallery began the biennium with an operation and development grant of \$15,000 from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, obtained through the auspices of Miss Mary Switzer, Administrator of the Social and Rehabilitation Service. In March, 1968, HEW awarded a continuation grant of \$25,000 for operation and expansion of the gallery. Five percent of the grant funds were provided by the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation. The grant was renewed in March of 1969 with an additional \$25,000 for operation and development.

In August, 1968, Miss Becky Hannum resigned as assistant curator, and in October Mrs. Lyn Rivers Wilbanks was appointed by the museum as assistant curator in charge of the gallery.

Expansion of the Gallery from one to three rooms began in February, 1969. The middle room is used for orientation, an audio booth, and the display of loans or recent acquisitions; the other two rooms are used for selections of the permanent collection and special exhibitions.

In February, 1969, the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation of New York City awarded the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery a \$10,000 grant for publication of a book on the formation and operation of the gallery. It will be illustrated and will present pertinent guidelines to museums interested in establishing similar galleries.

Special Exhibitions

The special exhibitions during the biennium were:

July-August, 1967, *Animal Sculptures*, with 27 works by A. Phimester Proctor, Antoine Barye, P. J. Mene, Humbert Albrizio, Jane Poupelet, Jane Wasey, Fritz Behn, Joseph Constant, Manfred von Diephold, Charles M. Russell, Nangolumi, Isador C. Bonheur, H. M. Shrady.



Antonio Canova (It., 1757-1822)

Hercules and Lichas

Gift of Wake County Chapter Sixth District Auxiliary of N. C. Medical
Society

September-October, 1967, *Pre-Columbian Sculpture and Persian Artifacts*, an exhibition of the fifty-one gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Fischmann, St. Louis, Missouri.

November-December, 1967, *Wood Cuts and Western Sculpture*, with woodblocks from 19th and 20th centuries and bronzes by Charles Russell, Frederic Remington, and C. H. Humphries.

December, 1967-January, 1968, *The Posed Figure*, consisting of works by Edgar Degas, Antoine Bourdelle, Raymond Duchamp-Villon, Aristide Maillol, Gerhard Marcks, Richard A. Miller, and Xaver Ruckstul.

February-March, 1968, *Musical Instruments Throughout the World and Musical Sculpture by Francois and Bernard Baschet*, with 81 instruments from 19 countries.

April-May, 1968, *Portraits in Sculpture*, containing 32 pieces by Elie Nadelman, Andre Derain, Frank Gallo, Elliot Offner, Arbit Blatas, Hugo Robus, Antoine Bourdelle, Berthe Morisot, Joe Brown, and Daniel Chester French.

December 7, 1968-February 15, 1969, *Oceanic, African, and Pre-Columbian Art*, including the gifts of Cedric Marks, Edward Merrin, Everitt Rassiga, and Helen Thrush.

April, 1969, *Chinese Jade* with 40 objects of art from the collection of Colonel Van R. White, Mebane, N. C.

May, 1969, *Kinetic Art*, with 21 pieces by Willi Gutmann, Ernest Trova, Atilio Pierelli, the Baschet Brothers, Emil Hess, Olle Adrin, Juan Downey, Paul Talman, Aaronel Gruber, Howard Kottler, Charles Henry, Geny Dignac, and Robert Black and Ormond Sanderson.

Permanent loans have been made to the gallery of a Chinese jade WATER BUFFALO by Colonel Van R. White, Mebane, N. C., and of Jimilu Mason's HEAD OF JOHN F. KENNEDY from Mr. D. D. Overton of Smithfield, N. C.

Special Events

A number of special events took place in the gallery during the biennium. On April 19, 1968, Campbell Wylly, selections advisor of the Museum of Modern Art Lending Service, gave a series of informal lectures to the students of the Governor Morehead School and a formal lecture in the museum concerning New York galleries.

On October 9, 1968, Mrs. William Rand planned an autograph party for Mrs. Marjorie McCune, a social worker in Asheville, to begin the sales of her book, *Toni's Tale*. Mrs. McCune greeted Mrs. Dan Moore and Mayor Travis Tomlinson and 345 other guests. The proceeds of the sales in the gallery went with money Mrs. Rand had raised from interested members of the community to found the Marjorie McCune Purchase Fund.



New Guinea

Mask

Gift of Edward Merrin, New York

April 9, 1969, a reception was held for Colonel and Mrs. White in connection with the display of his collection of Chinese Jade.

The Board of the Mary Duke Biddle Foundation of New York visited the gallery on April 26th.

Ray Pierotti of the Museum of Contemporary Crafts gave a lecture on Kinetic Art to the gallery docents on May 2, 1969. On May 4th, a reception was held to honor Mr. Pierotti, Mr. Thomas Folds of the Metropolitan Museum, and Willi Gutmann, Switzerland, in connection with the opening of the Kinetic Art Exhibition.

Special visits to the gallery to study its operation were made by the following: Mr. Roger Selby, Curator of Education, and Mrs. Mary Cheney from the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.; Miss Martha Cowden, Dayton, Ohio; Mr. and Mrs. Justin Dart, California State Arts Commission; Mr. Jan Von Adlman, Tampa Bay Art Center Director; Mrs. Nina Uber Jensen, Assistant Curator of the Brooklyn Museum; and Mr. Dean Smith, Designer for the California State Arts Commission.

Mr. Charles Semowich of Binghamton, New York, composed "Suite for Percussion with Two Cones" dedicating his piece of music to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind in honor of the gift by the Baschet Brothers of their sculpture.

Attendance

Blind persons in North Carolina visited the gallery during the past biennium from the Governor Morehead School and the Lions Clinic and Evaluation Center, Raleigh; the North Carolina Rehabilitation Center and the Murdoch Center, Butner; Indiana School for the Blind; and groups arranged by the Social Welfare Workers in Wake County, Burlington, Durham, Fayetteville, Hillsborough, Lillington, Sanford, Smithfield, Wilmington, and Yanceyville.

Thousands of sighted visitors make special trips to the museum to visit the Gallery each year. Among those were the Sir Walter Cabinet, teachers of the blind from Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee, classes of design and psychology from North Carolina State University.

Publicity

During the biennium the gallery has received extensive coverage on television, radio, in newspapers, periodicals, and lectures. Subjects covered were exhibitions, gifts, awards of grants, the expansion of the gallery, Mrs. Marjorie McCune's autograph party, the Girl Scout Volunteers, Mr. Stanford's trip to Russia, and the appointment of a new assistant curator.

Special features include the following: Milton Esterow's article in the *New York Times* (5/3/68), Marjorie McCune's article "Touch and Know" (3/68), Mr. Stanford's speech in Russia in the North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin (12/68), article in *MD'S WIFE*, published by the Woman's Auxiliary to the American Medical Association (5/69), and Klink Cook's article on the Dan Morris bronze in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* (5/8/69).

Cultural Trips

Cultural trips were arranged through the gallery for the students of the Governor Morehead School to the North Carolina School of the Arts and the Nature-Science Center in Winston-Salem and to the concerts of the following: the North Carolina Symphony, the North Carolina State University Artists Series, and the Raleigh Chamber Music Series.

Volunteers

Volunteers assisting as guides in the Gallery were the following women and Girl Scouts in the community: Mrs. William Beaty, Mrs. C. F. Brannon, Mrs. John Calfee, Mrs. Harry Clark, Mrs. Frank Collins, Chris Cox, Mrs. Marsden deRosset, Marilyn Eckels, Mrs. Palmer Edwards, Miss Agnes Ellis, Mrs. Beeler Eskridge, Mrs. H. D. Fentress, Patricia Gamble, Mrs. William Gilliam, Mrs. Charles Green, Mrs. C. H. Hill, Mrs. Robert Holding, Mrs. David Howells, Becky Kennison, Canda Reaugh, Mrs. William Sprunt, Pam Stephenson, Mrs. R. Clifton Straughan, Beth Swann, Mrs. Juanita Tobin, Mrs. W. G. Waters, Patsy Watkins, Miss Eula Weary, Mrs. Mini Whitaker, Diedra Williams, Mrs. James Kindt, Debby Lancaster, Mrs. William Meredith, Mrs. Thomas Newton, Mrs. Fred Parker, III, Mrs. Nicholas Pediaditakis, Mrs. Alice Quinn, and Mrs. William Rand.

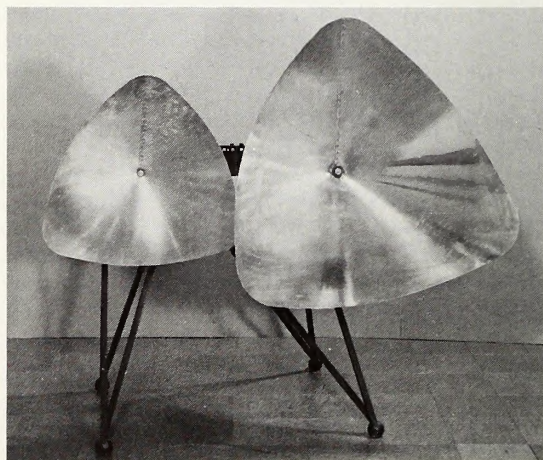
Other volunteer services were rendered by students from North Carolina State University, Duke University, Peace College, and the North Carolina School of the Arts, members of the Beta Sigma Phi Sorority, Durham's Westminster Presbyterian Church Women, and Winston-Salem Women's Auxiliary of the Nature Science Center.

Gifts

CAT, Egyptian; Katharine Cornell
FOUR FEMALE FIGURES, North Syria, Hurrute;
Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
MALE FIGURE, North Syria, Hurrute; Mr. and
Mrs. Cedric Marks

MALE GOD, Khmer, Cambodia; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 LAP-HARP, Mangbetu tribe, Congo; Morton D. May
 MARIMBA, Congo; Morton D. May
 CHAIR, Badjok tribe, Congo; Morton D. May
 DRUM, Katab tribe, North Nigeria; Everett Noland
 CHIEFTAN'S CHAIR, Congo; Morton D. May
 HEADREST, Mashona tribe, Southern Rhodesia; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 MASK, Basonge tribe, Congo; Morton D. May
 ANTELOPE HEADRESS, Karumba, Upper Volta; Morton D. May
 FERTILITY MASK, Upper Volta; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 ANCESTOR FERTILITY FIGURE, Bambara tribe, Mali; Morton D. May
 JANUS-HEAD DANCE MASK, Bambara tribe, Mali; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 MARIONETTE FIGURE, Bambara tribe, Segore, Mali; Miss Helen Thrush
 CIRCUMCISION SET, Africa; Edward Merrin
 RHYTHM BEATER, Senufo tribe, Ivory Coast; Morton D. May
 MALE DOG, Senufo tribe, Ivory Coast; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 DRUM, Senufo tribe, Ivory Coast; Morton D. May
 KAMANGGABI FIGURE, Korewori River area, New Guinea; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 ANGEL, New Guinea; Edward Merrin
 SPEAR THROWER, Massim area, New Guinea; Edward Merrin
 HEADDRESS, Sepik River area, New Guinea; Edward Merrin
 CANOE PLANK, Massim area, New Guinea; Edward Merrin
 SHIELD, New Britain; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 FIGURE WITH SNAKES, New Britain; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 GRAVE MARKER, New Britain; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 LIME SPATULA, Trobriand Island; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 FEMALE FIGURE, Costa Rica; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURE, Guatemala; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 MAN, Mescala; Everett Rassiga
 WOMAN FEEDING CHILD, Mayan; Edward Merrin
 WOMAN FEEDING CHILD, Mayan; Edward Merrin
 STANDING FIGURE, Colima; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 MALE FIGURE SEATED, Jalisco; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks

14 FEMALE FIGURES, Michoacan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 2 CELTS, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 AMULET, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 TWO SETS OF EARPLUGS, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 ROLLER STAMP, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 OBLONG STAMP, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 STANDING SMILING FIGURE, Vera Cruz; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 FACE, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 RING: BIRD (EAGLE?), Mayan; Edward Merrin
 RING, Mayan; Edward Merrin
 EAGLE, Veraguas, Panama; Dr. Mark Sheppard
 BELL, Ecuador, Costa Rica; Dr. Mark Sheppard
 4 RATTLES, WOMEN, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 I RATTLE, MAN, Colima; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 I WHISTLE, MAN, Colima; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 WHISTLE, MAN'S HEAD, Costa Rica; Paul Clifford
 BLACK POT, Colima; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 RED BOWL, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 RED BOWL, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 WHITE BOWL, Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 BOWL (CHICKEN), Mayan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 THREE LEGGED DISH; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks



Francois and Bernard Baschet (Fr., contemporary)
Percussion with Two Cones
 Gift of Francois and Bernard Baschet, and Richard Waddell of the Waddell Gallery, New York

14 WOODBLOCKS, Japan; Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks
 HERCULES AND LICHAS, Antonio Canova; Auxiliary of the Wake County Medical Society
 BOULONNAISE AU RAMEAU, Jules Dalou; in memory of Eugenia Marshburn Stockard, Raleigh, by her family and friends
 FISHERBOY, Marcel Debut; Dr. and Mrs. Henry Ligon in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E. Green
 HEAD OF LINCOLN, Daniel C. French; Reader's Digest
 PUMA, A. Phimister Proctor; Mary Duke Biddle Foundation
 HORSE, Manfred Von Diephold; Mrs. Edward Richards
 PERCUSSION WITH TWO CONES, Francis and Bernard Baschet; Gifts of the artists and Richard Waddell
 ALUMINUM SCULPTURE, Willi Gutmann; Dr. and Mrs. William Sprunt
 HEAD OF WINSTON CHURCHILL, Clare C. Sheridan; Marjorie B. McCune Purchase Fund
 SNOWGOOSE, Eskimo; Charles Stanford
 DOVE, Humbert Albrizio; Anonymous Donor
 FIGURE ON ROCK, John Cody; Thomas Kenan, III in memory of Mrs. Sarah Graham Kenan
 FORM, Dan Morris; Mary Duke Biddle Foundation, in honor of Miss Mary Switzer
 THE FOLDING MAN, Ernest Trova; National Foundation of the Arts and North Carolina State Arts Society
 SWAN, Peggy Reventlow; Gift of the artist
 HEAD OF HELEN KELLER, Jo Davidson; Mrs. Doak Finch, Sarah Graham Kenan Memorial Fund, Marjorie McCune Purchase Fund, North Carolina Museum of Art Purchase Fund
 MARK TWAIN, Thomas Holland; Gift of the artist
 HEAD OF A WOMAN, Emilio Greco; Mary Duke Biddle Gallery Purchase Fund
 MYTH CREATURE, Kim Stussy; Judge and Mrs. Gus Soloman
 HUNTER WITH SEAL, Mary Koam; Miss Virginia Pritchard

Lending Collection Gifts

TWO FLOOR TILES, Roman; Charles Stanford
 2 APPLIQUES OF EGYPTIAN WALL RELIEFS; Dr. and Mrs. Eben Alexander
 GOOSE, Eskimo; Dr. and Mrs. William Sprunt
 MALE FIGURE, Eskimo; Dr. and Mrs. William Sprunt
 WOMAN'S HEAD, Oceanic; Miss Mary Switzer
 9 FIGURES, Africa; Mr. Saul Rosen



Vera Cruz
 Standing smiling figure
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks, New York

CAMEL AND RIDER, Africa; Mary Coker Joslin
 GAZELLE, Kenya
 MALE FIGURE, Kenya
 NORTH CAROLINA STATE FLAG, Mrs. T. L. Young; Garden Friends Club of Raleigh
 MOSES, Nancy Glazer; Gift of the artist
 QUEEN ELIZABETH, Chan Pohlin (Perkins School for the Blind); Gift of the artist
 HEX OF AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT, Daniel Smith; Gift of the artist
 2 CHILDREN'S HEADS; Miss Anne Smith Worth
 2 FOLK DOLLS, Lucerne, Switzerland; Mrs. Cecil Sanford
 FISH, George Helen Waite Papashivily; Mrs. Marjorie Bell
 TIGER, Chinese; Mrs. Clarence Shore
 AXE HEAD, American Indian, American Museum of Natural History
 3/4 GROOVE AXE HEAD, American Indian, American Museum of Natural History

These gifts bring the total number of the permanent collection of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery to approximately 300 works of art.

Lenders to the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery

Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth
Lester Avnet, New York, N. Y.
The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland
Mrs. J. M. Blosser, Raleigh
Joe Brown, Princeton, New Jersey
Mrs. Isabella Cannon, Raleigh
Mr. Paul Clifford, Decatur, Georgia
Colonial Shoppe Antiques, Raleigh
The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Joe Cox, Raleigh
Dr. Christopher Crocker, Durham
Mrs. Vivian Dai, Durham
Design Gallery, Durham
Mrs. Geny Dignac, Oakton, Virginia
Juan Downey, Washington, D. C.
Fendric Gallery, Chevy Chase, Maryland
Forum Gallery, New York, N. Y.
Galeria Bonino, New York, N. Y.
Galerie Kamer, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Sydney Gerber, Seattle, Washington
Mrs. Forrest Getzen, Raleigh
Graham Gallery, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. E. K. Gravely, Rocky Mount
Mrs. Aaronel deRoy Gruber, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania



Egyptian (1580-1372 B. C.)
Cat

Gift of Miss Katharine Cornell, Martha's Vineyard, Mass.

Hammer Gallery, New York, N. Y.
Mr. John Heiss, Raleigh
Charles Henry, Richmond, Virginia
The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia
Hirschl and Adler Galleries, New York, N. Y.
Dr. and Mrs. Harry Kelly, Raleigh
Thomas Kenan, Durham
The Knoedler Galleries, New York, N. Y.
Kraushaar Galleries, New York, N. Y.
Mr. Peter Kriendler, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Arthur Larson, Durham
Marlborough-Gerson Gallery, New York, N. Y.
The Maryland Institute
Dr. Wilton Mason, Chapel Hill
Richard A. Miller, New York, N. Y.
Mint Museum of Art, Charlotte
Governor and Mrs. Dan K. Moore, Raleigh
Multiples, Inc., New York, N. Y.
Museum of Contemporary Crafts, New York, N. Y.
Olsen Foundation, Guilford, Connecticut
Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Grove Robinson, Raleigh
Dr. William Rowe, Durham
Royal-Athena Galleries, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Paul Runyon, Washington, D. C.
Robert Schoelkopf, New York, N. Y.
Dr. and Mrs. James Semans, Durham
Mrs. Harold Senter, Jr., Raleigh
Dr. Mark Sheppard, Tampa, Florida
Charles E. Slatkin, Inc., New York, N. Y.
The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Thomas Teague, Raleigh
Mr. and Mrs. J. Dee Traywick, Morrisville
Mrs. V. D. Whatley, Raleigh
Colonel Van R. White, Mebane
Mrs. R. W. Work, Raleigh
Zabriskie Gallery, New York, N. Y.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Mr. Stanford was invited to present a paper on the "Formation and Operation of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind" to the ICOM Committee for Education and Cultural Action in Moscow, Russia, on May 19, 1968.

On July 24, 1968, Mr. Stanford gave a lecture to the Texas Rehabilitation Association, Fort Worth, Texas, on "Appreciation and Expression of the Arts by the Visually Impaired."

On October 9, 1968, Mr. Stanford spoke at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art on the establishment and operation of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind. After his talk a seminar was conducted for docents on the operation of a gallery for the blind.

On October 14, 1968, Mr. Stanford spoke at a meeting of the M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum

in San Francisco on the same subject, with seminars also being held.

On November 12, 1968, Mr. Stanford attended a conference with officials of the Brooklyn Museum on the establishment of a gallery for the blind at that museum.

On April 28-29, 1969, Mr. Stanford lectured at the Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, S. C., on "Art as an Educational Tool," and on "How to Use a Museum."

During this period, Mrs. Rennie was invited to judge in the Scholastic Art Awards competition, sponsored by WFMY-TV, and also the Peace Junior College student art show.

During the past two years, Mrs. Rennie has been invited to assist in escorting and guiding a group of 36 art teachers on a week's art tour to Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. The major museums of these cities were visited and studied. Introductory tours of the NCMA collection were given to the groups before they began their trips. The project is sponsored annually by the North Carolina Arts Council.

Mrs. H. P. Ferrell assisted the Education Department in scheduling groups for guided tours in the NCMA in the spring of 1969.

On October 3, 1967, the twelfth annual class for docents began, with the Curator of Education as instructor. The docents met each week for a series of lectures concerning the museum's collection. In the spring they guided groups through the museum's collection for a half day each week.

The thirteenth annual class for beginning docents started October 1, 1968, and continued until February of 1969.

The program consisted of a semester of study with the Curator of Education and a semester of guiding. Notes prepared by the Education Department were distributed to docents. The course included the history of Western art, using the museum's collection as a basis for study.

The volunteers consist of women from the Junior League of Raleigh, the Raleigh Jr. Woman's Club, The Raleigh Fine Arts Society, and non-affiliated persons who donate one half day per week to gallery tours during March, April, and May. Those who have enrolled in the beginner classes and in the Advanced Docent Workshops are:

Mrs. J. Allen Adams
Mrs. W. H. Alexander
Mrs. J. Alleavitch
Mrs. Alex B. Andrews
Mrs. Simmons Andrews
Mrs. W. F. Andrews
Mrs. G. R. Armstrong
Mrs. Ralph Ashworth
Mrs. Z. H. Bacon, Jr.

Mrs. Thomas M. Ballentine
Mrs. F. S. Barkalow
Mrs. H. H. Beahm
Mrs. G. F. Bitler
Mrs. Robert C. Blades
Mrs. William M. Black
Mrs. L. E. Box
Mrs. C. F. Branan
Mrs. John Bratton, Jr.
Mrs. William R. Breeden
Mrs. T. S. Brower
Mrs. U. Albert Brown
Mrs. Bruce M. Brown
Mrs. M. L. Brown, Jr.
Mrs. W. P. Bryant
Mrs. R. T. Cadwallader
Mrs. Tom Castelloe
Mrs. Godfrey Cheshire, Jr.
Mrs. I. L. Clayton
Mrs. P. R. Cockshutt
Mrs. J. J. Coggins
Mrs. F. W. Collins, Jr.
Mrs. Robert Courville
Mrs. E. B. Craven, Roxboro
Mrs. Judson Creech
Mrs. William A. Creech
Mrs. L. Z. Crockett
Mrs. Milton M. Croom, Knightdale
Mrs. J. M. W. Crute
Mrs. James W. C. Daniel
Mrs. Dwight Davis, Jr.
Mrs. H. A. Davis
Mrs. J. K. Dorsett
Mrs. N. N. Dudley
Mrs. F. T. Eastwood
Mrs. George Edwards
Mrs. H. P. Edwards
Mrs. B. C. Eskridge
Mrs. William W. Farley
Mrs. H. P. Ferrell
Mrs. Charles D. Ficken
Mrs. C. Page Fisher
Mrs. D. T. Fisher
Mrs. Curtis Fitzgerald
Mrs. J. D. Fitzgerald, Roxboro
Mrs. P. G. Fox, Jr.
Mrs. Elizabeth Isbell Gates
Mrs. F. W. Getzen
Mrs. Spencer Glascock
Mrs. R. W. Goldsmith
Mrs. Henry J. Grady
Mrs. C. P. Green
Mrs. Julius A. Green
Mrs. G. A. Gullette
Mrs. R. P. Hadley
Mrs. J. A. Hamilton
Mrs. M. M. Happer
Mrs. John B. Harris, Jr.

Mrs. Mollie Harrison, Louisburg
 Mrs. R. F. Hendee
 Mrs. W. E. Hennessee, Jr.
 Mrs. C. H. Hill
 Mrs. R. C. Hobson
 Mrs. A. E. Hoffmann
 Mrs. C. P. Holleman, Apex
 Mrs. Frank L. Hood
 Mrs. D. H. Howells
 Mrs. A. M. Ingram
 Mrs. C. D. Isom, Jr.
 Mrs. Charles M. Johnson, Jr.
 Mrs. William Joslin
 Mrs. C. H. Kahn
 Mrs. James Kindt
 Mrs. T. D. Kitchen
 Mrs. D. L. Knight
 Mrs. E. S. Knight
 Mrs. C. B. Koonce
 Mrs. W. W. Kriegel
 Mrs. N. M. Laney
 Mrs. D. A. Link
 Mrs. F. W. London
 Mrs. Hans Lowenbach
 Mrs. Edward H. Luce
 Mrs. D. M. Lutz, Chapel Hill
 Mrs. Russell O. Lyday
 Mrs. J. W. Lynn, Jr.
 Mrs. S. C. Martin
 Mrs. James H. Manly
 Mrs. W. M. Mashburn
 Mrs. J. D. McConnell
 Mrs. David D. McDonald
 Mrs. P. H. McDonald
 Mrs. C. C. McKinney
 Mrs. Glenn Miller
 Mrs. J. G. Mills
 Mrs. M. A. Moore, Jr.
 Mrs. Henry B. Morrow
 Mr. Clarence E. Norman
 Mrs. Fred P. Parker, III
 Mrs. George Paschal
 Miss Alma A. Patrick
 Mrs. Lewis Patton
 Mrs. J. K. Pearson, Apex
 Mrs. N. Pediaditakis
 Mrs. L. L. Phillips
 Mrs. J. L. Ponzer
 Mrs. Louis Rabil
 Mrs. E. Byron Ransdell
 Mrs. Guy W. Rawls, Jr.
 Mrs. Ralph Reeves
 Mrs. James W. Reid
 Mrs. Richard L. Rice
 Mrs. H. L. Ridgeway
 Mrs. S. N. Robinson
 Mrs. Michael Rulison
 Mrs. H. Sagan

Mrs. J. L. Sally
 Mrs. W. M. Sanders
 Mrs. R. F. Saxe
 Mrs. Edward Schoenborn
 Mrs. J. P. Senter
 Mrs. H. M. S. Shaw, Jr.
 Mrs. R. T. Sherwood
 Mrs. R. N. Simms, Jr.
 Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Jr.
 Mrs. E. C. Smith
 Mrs. H. B. Smith
 Mrs. O. F. Smith
 Mrs. W. C. Smith
 Mrs. N. D. Sowerby, Jr.
 Mrs. G. B. Spence
 Mrs. William H. Sprunt, III
 Mrs. D. B. Stancel
 Mrs. J. E. Stone
 Mrs. Ted Strupler
 Mrs. A. T. Taylor, Jr.
 Mrs. D. S. Thompson
 Mrs. Donald L. Thompson
 Mrs. Robert L. Thompson
 Mrs. W. Reid Thompson
 Mrs. E. H. Thornhill
 Mrs. William S. Tilley
 Mrs. John Tobin
 Mrs. A. C. Todd
 Mrs. J. B. Turner
 Mrs. H. G. Walker, Jr.
 Mrs. James H. Walker
 Mrs. W. C. Wallace
 Mrs. W. Clyde Ward
 Mrs. Warren Warden
 Mrs. W. G. Waters
 Mrs. L. A. Watts
 Miss Gertrude Weber
 Mrs. F. R. Welles
 Mrs. Sim H. Welles
 Mrs. George Wey
 Mrs. Sydnor M. White
 Mrs. William B. White
 Mrs. J. A. Williams
 Mrs. T. G. Williams
 Mrs. Robert Williamson
 Mrs. Frank Wilson
 Mrs. M. P. Wilson, Jr.
 Mrs. Rochelle Winick
 Mrs. F. F. Winslow, Jr.
 Mrs. Thomas B. Wood
 Mrs. R. B. Woodson
 Mrs. R. P. Woodson, III
 Mrs. Robert W. Work
 Mrs. Hal V. Worth, III
 Mrs. T. C. Worth
 Mrs. Henry S. Zaytoun

Charles W. Stanford, Jr.
 Curator of Education



Jules Dalou (Fr., 1838-1902)

Boulonnaise au Rameau

Gift in memory of Eugenia Marshburn Stockard, Raleigh, by her family and friends

BIENNIAL REPORT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE
JULY 1, 1967-JUNE 30, 1969

Museum Attendance

1967-1968
July 5768
August 4980
September 3435
October 6674
November 6967
December 4728
January 4193
February 6721
March 9701
April 13,657
May 16,459
June 4929
TOTAL 88, 212

1968-1969
July 7456
August 5293
September 3632
October 5236
November 6650
December 4171
January 5424
February 6135
March 8349
April 13,534
May 15,745
June 3902
TOTAL 85,527

PUBLICATIONS

Calendar of Art Events. 20 issues, 158 pages, 134 illustrations, edition 2800. Total distribution: 56,000 copies.
Bulletin. 6 issues, 210 pages, 126 illustrations, edition 3000. Total distribution: 18,000 copies.
Catalogue of Paintings (Vol. II) *British Paintings to 1900*. 105 pages, 54 reproductions, edition 5000.

MISCELLANEOUS PRINTING

Programs for 5 Sunday concerts, invitaions, announcements, 5000 NCMA fact sheets and 50,000 *Guide to the Collection* brochures.

NEWS RELEASES

147 releases prepared for:
150 state and national newspapers, periodicals, television and radio stations
20 foreign periodicals
80 colleges, museums and galleries of the state

STATE PRESS COVERAGE OF NCMA
IN THIS PERIOD

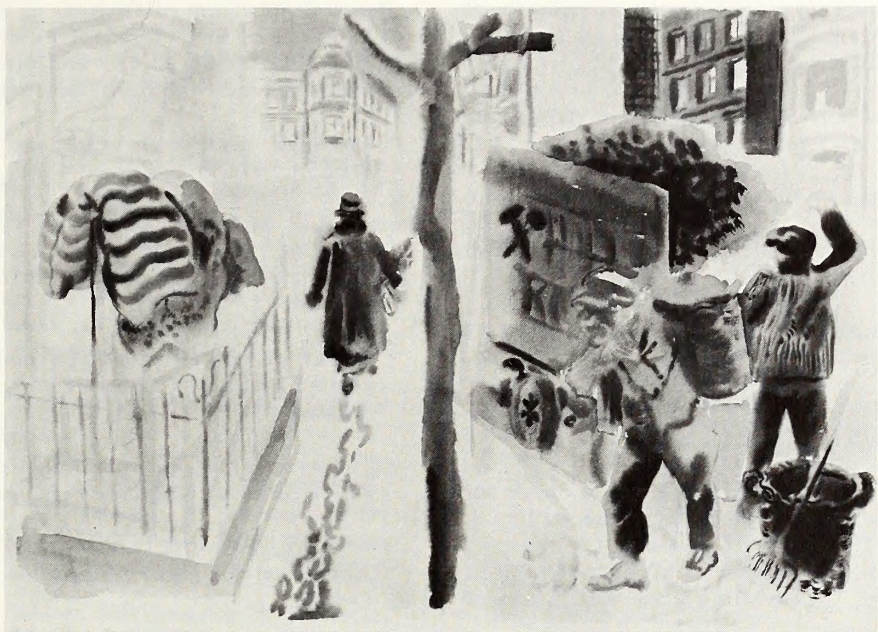
Approximately 14,383 inches of newspaper space, 435 illustrations
6 radio interviews on Station WPTF
1 TV appearance on WTVD
Magazine series of four articles in *We the People* (now *North Carolina Magazine*)

BOOK AND PERIODICAL COVERAGE OF
NCMA SINCE LAST PUBLISHED LIST
in 1965-1967 BIENNIAL REPORT

STATE

Arts of the Young Republic: The Age of William Dunlap by Harold E. Dickson (University of N. C. Press, 1968) plate No. 65: Peale's Porthole Portrait of George Washington.

Benchmarks (Publication of the State Department of Public Instruction) Vol. II, No. 1; p. 4: one gallery picture with item about NCMA.



George Grosz (Am., b. Ger., 1893-1959)

Schnee Wetter

Gift of the Chapel Hill Chapter of the N. C. State Art Society



John Warwick Smith (Eng., 1749-1831)

Ruins of Caernarvon Castle from the Interior

Gift of the English-Speaking Union of Durham, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill

Carolina Farmer (Dec. 1967) Cover: Adoring Angel by Egid Asam; p. 6: "A Wealth of Treasures Ours to Share," with 6 photos.

(Dec. 1968) Cover: Duquesnoy's Head of the Virgin; p. 3: item about the sculpture.

The Eye Line (Publication of N. C. State Commission for the Blind, Sept. 1968) p. 4: illustration and article on Marjorie McCune autograph party in MDB Gallery for the Blind.

(Oct. 1968) Article and illustration of French's Bust of Lincoln.

(Nov. 1968) Item and illustration of pre-Columbian exhibition in MDB Gallery.

(April 1969) p. 11: Articles about book for MDB Gallery and renovation of the Gallery.

Guide to Raleigh (Pamphlet of Dept. of Public Instruction), Gallery Illustration and history of NCMA.

The Humanities in Public Education (State Dept. of public Instruction) Cover: Bacchus (detail); p. 1: Oklahoma Ride by Joe Brown; p. 2: Warrior; p. 3: Female Flutist; p. 4: Winter; p. 5: The Bird Catcher by Giovanni du Bologna; p. 6: Abstract Figure by David Smith; p. 7: Madonna, French, 12th cent.; p. 8: Pinocchio by Emilio Greco; p. 9: Isis and Horus; p. 10: Cast of a Head by Berglun; p. 11: St. Catherine by Riemenschneider; p. 12: Bacchus (detail); p. 13: St. Florian.

Insight (publication of the N. C. State Commission for the Blind, Fall, 1968), p. 22: article about and picture of autograph party for Marjorie McCune in MDB Gallery.

North Carolina Architect (Sept. 1967) p. 33: "More about the Museum Issue," with three photos.

(Oct. 1968) p. 16: item on gift of Nowicki drawings given to NCMA, with illustration.

N. C. Public School Bulletin (Dec. 1967) p. 16: Hand by Rodin, with item.

NDEA Summer Institute for Advanced Study in Asian History (Meredith College pamphlet, Feb. 1968) Cover: Avalekitesvara, Lord of Mercy; p. 1: Chinese vases, Kang-Hi period.

Raleigh Telephone Book (Dec. 1967) Cover: Boudin's L'Entree du Port de Trouville.

Reach (Publication of Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, State Dept. of Public Instruction, Nov.-Dec. 1968) p. 17: illustration and item about Marjorie McCune and MDB Gallery.

(Jan.-Feb. 1969) p. 21: article and illustration of French's Bust of Lincoln.

Reference Materials for School Libraries (State Dept. of Public Instruction) Third edition; p. 159: listing of NCMA and its services and publications.

Souvenir (Charlotte Observer magazine of bi-centennial salute) Cover: Queen Charlotte by Stuart.

St. Mary's Junior College Bulletin (Dec. 1967) Cover: Adoring Angel by Egid Asam.

The State (April 1, 1968) p. 11: "Touch and Know," article with illustration about MDB Gallery.

(Oct. 1, 1968) p. 25: article on MDB Gallery and autograph party for Marjorie McCune.

Tar Heel Banker (Dec. 1968) Cover: Rubens' Holy Family with St. Anne.

The White Cane (Fall, 1968) p. 11: article with illustration of McCune autograph party in MDB Gallery; article with illustration of French's Bust of Lincoln; item about exhibition of African, Oceanic and pre-Columbian art in MDB Gallery.



Manfred von Diephold (Fr., contemporary)
Horse

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Richards, Raleigh

NATIONAL

Alpha Gamma Delta Quarterly (Summer, 1967) p. 16: three illustrations and article about MDB Gallery.

America's Art by Jane and Theodore Norman (published 1968 by Meredith Press) p. 258-59: information about NCMA.

The Making of the Nation, American Heritage History (Simon and Schuster, 1968) p. 352: full page color detail of Mayr's Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs.

Antiques (Jan. 1968) p. 109: Ivan Ivanovich Shuvaloff by Vigee-Lebrun.

(Nov. 1968) p. 712: Henry Clay by Thomas Ball; p. 713: John C. Calhoun by Hiram Powers (both illustrated in article "The Index of American Sculpture.")

Apollo (Nov. 1968) p. 369: mention of Jordaens' Mercury and Jupiter Visiting Philemon and Baucis and Adoration of the Shepherds in Canadian exhibition.

Art Quarterly (Spring, 1967) p. 68: King Balhasar; p. 69: 16th cent. Greek Madonna and Child; p. 69: Bernhard Keil's Young Woman Going to Market; p. 70: Jan Brueghel's The Harvest; p. 73: Etienne Falconet's Cupid; p. 73: Falconet's Psyche; p. 88: Jacob Epstein's Sir Alan Cunningham; p. 88: Epstein's Dame Myra Hess.

(Summer, 1967) p. 161: listing of acquisition of Jawlensky Head; p. 174: illustration of Jawlensky Head.

(Spring, 1968) p. 94: item on Monet's La Falaise d'Etretat and Renoir's Girl Seated in a Garden; p. 99: item on St. Florian; p. 92: illustration of St. Florian; p. 107: illustration of La Falaise d'Etretat.

(Summer, 1968) pp. 205-07, 208, 220: list of acquisition of Egyptian Cat, Lawrence's Portrait of Canova; Smith's Ruins of Caernavon Castle; Degas' Le Repos, Pittman's The Conversation; p. 221: illustration of Portrait of Canova; p. 223: illustration of Ruins of Caernavon Castle; p. 210: illustration of Egyptian Cat; p. 224: illustration of Le Repos.

(Fall, 1968) p. 314: listing of Wyatt's Portrait of a Gentleman; p. 315: listing of Rousseau's



Emy Roeder (Ger., 1890-)
Geschwister

Gift of Mrs. Charles Kistler, Fayetteville, in memory of George G. Myrover

Beech in the Forest of l'Isle Adam; p. 317: listing of Riemenschneider's St. Catherine, Roeder's Geschwister, and Canova's Hercules and Lichas; p. 318: listing of Grosz's Schnee Wetter; p. 320: illustration of St. Catherine; p. 323: illustration of Hercules and Lichas; p. 324: illustration of Portrait of a Gentleman and Beech in the Forest of l'Isle Adam.

(Winter, 1968) p. 442: illustration of Christ Carrying the Cross (Westphalian); illustration of Delft Vase; p. 446: listing of Christ Carrying the Cross; p. 447: listing of Dutch knife and fork; p. 442: illustration of Dutch knife and fork.

Art Journal (Fall, 1967) p. 80: item about Brummer Collection with mention of exhibition at NCMA.

The Art of Print (Studies in Art Series) by Earl G. Mueller, published by Wm. C. Brown Co., Dubuque, Iowa, 1969. P. 105: illustration of Kirchner's Portrait of Ludwig Schomes; p. 116: illustration of Kirchner's Girl in Music Hall.

Arts Magazine (Dec.-Jan. 1969) p. 56: mention of NCMA loan to Jordaens Exhibition at National Gallery of Canada.



Jean Honoré Fragonard (Fr., 1732-1806)
Argus, Io, Juno
Gift of Mrs. Arthur W. Levy, Jr., Raleigh

Christian Action (Publication of the United Methodist Church) July 1969; p. 31: illustration of Lebrun's Sketch for the Crucifixion.

The Chronicle of the Horse (April 19, 1968) Cover: Watering the Horses by Stearns; p. 47: item about cover illustration.

(Sept. 13, 1968) Cover: Death of the Fox by Morland; p. 12: item about cover.

Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin (Dec. 1968) p. 312: item about Lochner's St. Jerome; p. 314: footnote about painting.

Focus: Themes in Literature (Webster Division, McGraw Hill Book Co.) p. 562: Homer's Weaning the Calf, illustration.

Great Art Treasures in America's Smaller Museums (G. P. Putnam) p. 96: Raphael's St. Jerome Punishing the Heretic Sabinian; p. 97: Cellini's Neptune.

Illustrious Americans: Henry Clay by Glyndon G. van Deusen (Silver Burdett Co., 1967) p. 105: Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs by Mayr; p. 240: picture credit.

Journal of the American Medical Association (Sept. 25, 1967) Cover: SS Cosmas and Damian by the Rinuccini Master.

(Nov. 20, 1967) Cover: Corn Harvest at the Brandywine by Newell C. Wyeth.

(April 28, 1969) Cover: Pastoral Scene by Siberechts.

MD's Wife (May, 1969) pp. 4-5: "Art Gallery Designed for the Blind," article with four illustrations.

Museum News (Jan, 1968) p. 3: notice of acquisition of Monet's La Falaise d'Etretat with illustration.

(Jan. 1969) p. 47: item on acquisition of Barnett's Hands for the Portrait of Henry Pearson and Rousseau's Harbor Scene; p. 49: item on Lyn Wilbanks becoming assistant curator in MDB Gallery.

Negro Digest (Dec. 1967) p. 53: Beulah's Baby by Primrose Paschal.

Newsweek (March 10, 1969) p. 68: item about Canadian Rembrandt show, mentioning loan from Raleigh.

Joachim Patinir by Robert A. Koch (Princeton University Press, 1968) p. 85: commentary on Landscape with Flight into Egypt; fig. 81: illustration, Flight into Egypt; fig. 85: detail of fig. 81.

Pharos (Summer-Fall, 1968) Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, Fla., p. 16: mention of Morisot's Head of Julie Manet.

Self-Realization Magazine (Oct.-Dec. 1967) Cover: Madonna and Child by Pintoricchio.

The Story of New England by Monroe Stearns (Random House) p. 65: Copley's William Pepperrell Family.

This New Man: A Discourse in Portraits (Published for the National Portrait Gallery by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968) p. 103: Jefferson Davis by Elder, illustration with text.

Today's Education, Journal of the National Education Association, (Dec. 1968) p. 16: item on MDB Gallery, p. 17: illustration of Gallery.

CANADA

A. Y.'s Canada, drawings by A. Y. Jackson with text by Naomi Jackson Groves. (Clarke, Irwin & Co., Ltd., 1968) reference to "John White, Artist" (NCMA *Bulletin*, Vol. V, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 2-43) pp. 10-11.

Catalogue of Jordaens' Exhibition, National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, edited by Michael Jaffe. Cat. entry No. 9: Madonna and Child Visited by the Child St. John and His Parents; No. 87: Jupiter and Mercury Visit Philemon and Baucis; No. 110: The Adoration of the Shepherds.

A Pageant of Canada, published by Roger Duhamel, p. 64: mention of NCMA.

ENGLAND

The Burlington Magazine (Aug. 1967) p. 474: Giotto, Peruzzi Altar Piece, "Early Italian Pictures in the Kress Collection."

The Connoisseur (Dec. 1968) p. 256: illustration of Jordaens' The Holy Family; p. 256: item about the painting in the Canadian Exhibition.

(Nov. 1968) p. 201: illustration of Vigee-Lebrun's Count Shuvaloff.

FRANCE

Gazette Des Beaux-Arts (July-Aug. 1967) p. 114: reproduction of Shibanov portrait of Count Ivan Ivanovich Shouvalov, with item.

(Nov. 1967) p. 5: item on acquisition of Monet's *La Falaise d'Etretat*.

(Feb. 1968) p. 44: bronze Egyptian Cat; p. 73: Portrait of Canova by Lawrence; p. 83: Monet's *La Falaise d'Etretat*; p. 84: *Le Repos* by Degas; p. 91: Eakins' Portrait of Dr. Albert Getchell; p. 132: Scene in Gallery for the Blind; p. 138: items about acquisition of St. Florian and Renoir's *Girl Seated in a Garden*.

(March, 1968) p. 4: item about acquisition of *Le Repos* by Degas.

L'Oeil (Jan. 1969) p. 17: illustration of Jupiter and Mercury with Philemon and Baucis by Jordaens.

GERMANY

Pantheon (May-June, 1967) p. 161: reproduction of Rembrandt's *Esther and Haman*; p. 195: reproduction of *Cavalier* by Velasquez.

(Nov. 1967) p. 448: Bernardo Bellotto, *Dresden from the Right Bank*.

ITALY

I Maestri della Scultura, Duquesnoy (Fratelli Fabbrì, Editori, Milan, 1966) Head of the Young Christ and Bust of the Virgin, with text.

SCOTLAND

Scottish Art Review (Published by the Glasgow Art Gallery and the Museums Association) p. 23: Wilkie's *Columbus in the Convent of La Rabida*.

Helen Tucker

Public Information Officer



Claude Monet (Fr., 1840-1926)
La Falaise d'Etretat
Museum Art Purchase Fund

BIENNIAL REPORT OF REGISTRAR'S DEPARTMENT

JULY 1, 1967-JUNE 30, 1969

ACQUISITIONS

(Note: Works of art followed by an asterisk are acquisitions of the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind.)

AFRICAN: group of nine items, including ANTELOPE HEADRESS, Karumba Tribe, Upper Volta River Region; MASK, Basonge Tribe, Congo; ANCESTOR FIGURE, Bambara Tribe, etc. Gift of the May Department Stores Co., St. Louis, Missouri.*

AFRICAN (Bambara Tribe), MARIONETTE FIGURE, 19th century. Gift of Miss Helen Thrush, Greensboro, in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Gregory D. Ivy.*

AFRICAN (Katab Tribe, Northern Nigeria): DRUM, wood and animal skins, 12¼ high. Gift of Everett Noland, Raleigh.*

AFRICAN, CENTRAL AMERICAN, PACIFIC ISLANDS, etc.: group of 43 items, such as Guatemalan SEATED ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURE, African JANUS-HEADED MASK, Bambara Tribe Mexican ROLLER STAMP, etc. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks, New York, N. Y.*

AFRICA, NEW GUINEA, MEXICO: group of nine items, such as New Guinea MASK; Africa (?) CIRCUMCISION SET; ALLIGATOR HEAD WITH THREE DAGGERS; New Guinea, ANGEL; Mexico, WOMAN FEEDING CHILD, etc. Gift of Edward Merrin, New York, N. Y.*

HUMBERT ALBRIZIO (American, born 1901): DOVE, alabaster, 12 high. Anonymous Gift.*

HENRY ALKEN (English, 1785-1851): A HUNTER, IV, pencil, 7½ x 9½ (sight); MEN AND HORSES, pencil, 7½ x 9½ (sight). Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Worth, Raleigh.

ANATOLIAN (Turkey), late 15th century: EMBROIDERED FABRIC, 38 x 45¼ (irreg.) Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Seltman, Washington, D. C., in memory of Mrs. Frances McIver Runyon, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN, 19th century: 2 PORTRAIT MINIATURES: CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN LOUIS TAYLOR (1805-1829) OF NORTH CAROLINA; and the other possibly JUDGE GASTON. Special Gift Fund.

AMERICAN, 19th century: CARVED CONSOLE TABLE, 38½ high, 45 long, 19 wide; CARVED CHAIR, 33¾ high. Gift of Mrs. Hubert Royster, Raleigh.

AMERICAN: TWO ART NOUVEAU GLASS VASES, 8½ high (manufactured by Quezal, New York); 11 high (with bronze base). Gift of Mrs. William M. Allen, Raleigh.

AMERICAN (JUGTOWN), 20th century: TULIP VASE (decorations by Juliana Busbee), 10 high. Gift of James Hall, Lumberton.

AMERICAN (JUGTOWN), 20th century: 2 PITCHERS, BOWL, PIE PLATE. Gift of Miss Mabel Pugh, Raleigh.

MARIT GUINNESS ASCHAN (English, contemporary): MOONFLOWERS, enamel relief. Gift of Edward B. Benjamin, New Orleans and Greensboro.

WILL BARNET (American, born 1911): HANDS FOR THE PORTRAIT OF HENRY PEARSON, pencil, 13¾ x 16¾. Gift of Henry Pearson, New York, N. Y.

FRANÇOIS BASCHET (French, born 1920), BERNARD BASCHET (French, born 1917): PERCUSSION WITH TWO CONES, steel and wood. Gift of François and Bernard Baschet and the Waddell Gallery, New York, N. Y.*

ILYA BOLOTOWSKY (American, born 1907): OPEN COLUMN, 1967, wood and acrylic, 48 high. National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.

BUKHARA (UZBEK SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC): BUKHARA HANGING. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Eaton, Jr., Raleigh.

BYZANTINE: Icon: BLACK MADONNA, on panel, 10 x 12. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

ALEXANDER CALDER (American, born 1898): TRICOLOR ON PYRAMID (mobile), metal, 48 x 78. National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.

ANTONIO CANOVA (Italian, 1757-1822): HERCULES AND LICHAS, c. 1796, bronze, 16½ high. Given in honor of the Wake County Medical Society by its Auxiliary.*

MARY CASSATT (American, 1845-1926): SARA WEARING HER BONNET & COAT, 1904, lithograph, 24½ x 18½. Given in memory of Margaret P. Ehringhaus (Margaret P. Ehringhaus Fund).

GIOVANNI BENEDETTO CASTIGLIONE (Italian, 1616-1670): SATYR SEATED AT THE FOOT OF A TERM, engraving 4¼ x 8¼. Ben F. Williams Fund.

CHINESE, T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.): CAMEL, glazed terracotta, 19 high. Gift of Lewis M. Heflin, Lexington, Ky.



Henry Wyatt (Eng., 1794-1840)
Portrait of a Gentleman
Gift of R. Philip Hanes, Winston-Salem

CHINESE: EMBROIDERED HANGING. Gift of Mrs. William A. Watkins, Raleigh.

JOHN CODY (American, contemporary): FIGURE, serpentine marble, 16 high. Gift of Thomas S. Kenan, III, Durham, in memory of Mrs. Sarah Graham Kenan.*

JULES DALOU (French, 1838-1902): BOULONNAISE AU RAMEAU, bronze, 23 high. Given in memory of Eugenia Marshburn Stockard, Raleigh, by her family and friends.*

MARCEL DEBUT (?) (French, 1865- ?): FISHER-BOY, bronze, 27½ high (with base). Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Henry J. Ligon, Jr., Raleigh, in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E. Green.*

EDGAR DEGAS (French, 1834-1917): LE REPOS, c. 1893, pastel, 19¼ x 25½. Gift of the N. C. State Art Society, Phifer Bequest.

PIERO DORAZIO (Italian, born 1927): DRAWING, charcoal, 20 x 30. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Bryant, Hamilton, N. Y., in memory of Dr. Clemens Sommer.

DUTCH, 18th century: DELFT VASE, 25 high. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Fred R. Klenner, Reidsville.

DUTCH, 1756: KNIFE AND FORK, with carved bone handles, leather sheath. Gift of the NCMA Docents.

THOMAS EAKINS (American, 1844-1916): PORTRAIT OF DR. ALBERT C. GETCHELL, 1907, oil on canvas, 24 x 20. Museum Art Purchase Fund.

EGYPTIAN: BEAD NECKLACE. Gift of Mrs. Daniel S. Grosch, Raleigh.

EGYPTIAN (18th Dynasty, 1580-1372 B.C.): CAT, bronze, on wood base, 5 x 3½. Gift of Miss Katharine Cornell, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts.*

ESKIMO: GOOSE, greenstone, 6¼ high. Gift of Charles W. Stanford, Jr., Raleigh.*

JEAN HONORÉ FRAGONARD (French, 1732-1806): ARGUS, IO AND JUNO, oil on paper mounted on board, 19 x 16. Gift of Mrs. Arthur W. Levy, Jr., Raleigh.

DANIEL CHESTER FRENCH (American, 1850-1931): BUST OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, bronze, 12 high (with base). Reader's Digest Fund.*

FRENCH, ITALIAN, etc.: group of 18 items, such as a pair of Venetian, 18th century armchairs, a French, 18th century, Louis XVI carved and gilded demi-lune console table with marble top, French 18th century engravings, etc. Gift of Mrs. H. Phelps Foster, New York, N. Y.

GERMAN (AUGSBERG), 17th century: COFFEE POT SET ON BALL-FOOTED CANDLE WARMER, silver and gold; wood handles (1698). Gift of Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh.

ANONYMOUS, SOUTH GERMAN, after the MASTER E. S.: MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED (c. 1470-80), mother-of-pearl, approx. 2 diameter. Gift of Dr. Robert A. Koch, Princeton, New Jersey, in memory of Dr. Clemens Sommer.

PHILIP GRONQUIST (American, contemporary): GARDENIA, serigraph, 11¼ x 9. Gift of Oscar Salzer Galleries, Los Angeles, Calif.

GEORGE GROSZ (American, born Germany, 1893-1959): SCHNEE WETTER (Snow Weather), watercolor, 17 x 25. Gift of the Chapel Hill Chapter of the North Carolina State Art Society.

WILLI GUTMANN (Swiss, born 1927): SQUARE WITH CIRCLE AND HALF CIRCLE, aluminum, 5½ x 5½. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. William H. Sprunt, III, Raleigh.*

JEAN JACQUES HENNER (Alsatian, 1829-1905): MAGDALENA, 1878, oil, 16¼ x 21. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

STEFAN HIRSCH (American, born Germany, 1899-1964): SKYLINE OF NEW YORK. Gift of Elsa Rogo Hirsch, New York, N. Y.

PAUL HUDGINS (American, 1940-1968): LARGE COVERED JAR, 10½ high. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. R. Philip Hanes, Jr., Winston-Salem. SCREW-TOP JAR. Craftsmen U.S.A. Exhibition Funds.

ITALIAN, etc.: 5 period fabrics, such as an Italian 15th century velvet hanging, Gothic velvet copes, etc. Gift of the North Carolina State Art Society and the Museum Art Purchase Fund.

JAPANESE, 19th century: FOURTEEN WOOD-BLOCKS. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks, New York, N. Y.*

JEAN BAPTISTE KIRNER (German, 1806-1866): ITALIAN PEASANT GIRL, oil, 12½ x 8½.

YOUNG BOY SEATED IN CHAIR, WITH ELBOWS ON KNEES, wash, 10½ x 8½

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN, oil, 16 x 14

ITALIAN BOY KNEELING BEFORE SHRINE, oil, 9½ x 7

BAVARIAN NOBLEMAN IN MEDIEVAL COURT DRESS, oil, 13 x 9

YOUNG GIRL SEATED WITH OPEN BOOK ON HER KNEES, pastel, 12 x 8

SEASCAPE: ROCKY ITALIAN COAST, oil, 14½ x 9½

STEEP ITALIAN STREET WITH SHRINE, pencil, 12 x 8

ITALIAN PEASANT WOMAN, 11 x 8½. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

JULES GILMER KÖRNER, SR. (American, 1851-1924): 5 landscape paintings, oil, and SELF-PORTRAIT, oil, 20 x 25. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

KAETHE KOLLWITZ (German, 1867-1945): VERBRÜDERUNG (Brotherhood), lithograph, 12¾ x 9½ (sheet). Gift of the NCMA Docents.

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE (English, 1769-1830): PORTRAIT OF ANTONIO CANOVA, oil on canvas, 36 x 28. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, Greensboro, and Museum Art Purchase Fund.

WAYNE LOWDER (American, born 1936): VARIATED ¾, acrylic, 73 diameter. Gift of the North Carolina State Art Society.

MANFRED VON DIEPHOLD (Contemporary; lives in France): HORSE, 1958, bronze, 23 high. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Richards, Raleigh.*

MEXICAN (Mescal): STANDING MAN, c. 300-600 A.D. Gift of Everett Rassiga, New York, N. Y.*

CLAUDE MONET (French, 1840-1926): LA FALAISE D'ETRETAT, 1883, oil on canvas, 21¾ x 31¾. Museum Art Purchase Fund.

CAROLINE A. MONTAGUE (American, born 1941): CONSTRUCTION No. 34, leather and wood, 77 x 57. Gift of the North Carolina State Art Society.

JEAN MICHEL MOREAU LE JEUNE (French, 1741-1814): 4 engravings: RECONSECRATION OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ORLEANS, LES FEMMES SAVANTES, WILLIAM OF NASSAU, and MARIE ANTOINETTE; each about 5¼ x 3½. Special Gift Fund.

DAN MORRIS (American, contemporary): ABSTRACT FORM, bronze, 3 high. Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind Funds.*

GEORGE L. K. MORRIS (American, born 1905): PIETA 3, 1963, oil, 51 x 63. National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.

MATHEW NOWICKI (Polish, 1910-1950): 95 ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS. Gift of William H. Deitrick, Raleigh.

EGLON HENDRICK VAN DER NEER (Dutch, 1634-1703): A YOUNG CAVALIER, on canvas, 13¾ x 11½. Gift of William Miesegaes, New York, N. Y.

HENRY PEARSON (American, born 1914): HORIZON III, 1964, on canvas, 87 x 68. Gift of the artist in memory of his father, A. Louis Pearson, Kinston. LINOLEUM BLOCK, WITH UNIQUE PRINT AND TRIAL PROOF, 11½ x 11½. Gift of the artist.*

TOPOGRAPHICAL DRAWING, 1945, ink, 5½ x 5½ (irreg.) Gift of the artist.

FIVE POSTERS:

Henry Pearson (American, born 1914)

1. Poster for New York Film Festival
- Charles Hinman (American, born 1932)

2. Announcement for One-Man Show &
 3. International Univ. Choral Festival
- Roy Lichtenstein (American, born 1923)
4. Minnesota Theatre Co., "Merton of the Movies"
- James Rosenquist (American, born 1933)
5. Announcement for One-Man Show
- Gift of Henry Pearson, New York, N. Y.

REGINALD MARSH and HENRY PEARSON (Marsh: American, 1898-1954): THREE SKETCH PAGES. Gift of Henry Pearson, New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH PENNELL (American, 1860-1926): FROM CLARK TO WALL STREET, 1924, etching, 9 x 7½. Gift of the NCMA Docents.

VICTOR PICKETT (American, contemporary): DOUBLE BALANCE, stainless steel and aluminum, 22 high. Gift of the North Carolina State Art Society.

HOBSON PITTMAN (American, born 1900): THE CONVERSATION, oil on canvas, 30 x 48. Gift of the artists, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

PRE-COLUMBIAN: EAGLE (Veraguas, Panama) and BELL (Peru), gold. Gifts of Dr. Mark Sheppard, Tampa, Fla.*

ALEXANDER PHIMISTER PROCTOR (American, born Canada, 1862-1950): PUMA, 1897, bronze, 12 high. Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind Funds.*

ANTONIO PUGA (Spanish, 17th century): MOORISH SERVANT, on canvas, 41 x 28. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Cone, Greensboro.

LEO RABKIN (American, born 1919): SHADOWBOX —DESSAU, 1967, acrylic sheet, 48 x 71½. National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.

JOHN RAMAGE, attributed to (American, born Ireland, c. 1748-1802): GEORGE WASHINGTON, c. 1800, enamel. Gift of Sidney Hill, New York, N. Y.

ANTHONY RASCH (American, active c. 1815): SILVER TEA SERVICE, c. 1819. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Jr., Raleigh, in honor of Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Greenville.

REMBRANDT VAN RIJN (Dutch, 1606-1669): THE WINDMILL, restrike of the etching of 1641. Gift of Dr. Kermit Knudtson, Chapel Hill.

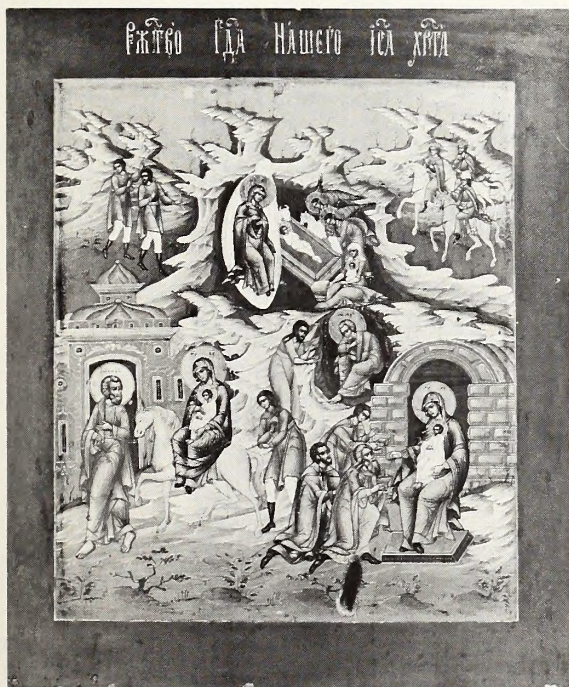
Two etchings: FACE OF OLD BEARDED MAN, 1630, and PEASANT IN HIGH CAP. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

PEGGY (COUNTESS) REVENTLOW (American, contemporary): SWAN, bronze, 11¾ high. Gift of the artist.*

TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER (German, c. 1460-1531): SAINT CATHERINE, lindenwood, 38 high. Museum Art Purchase Fund and gift of the North Carolina State Art Society.



South German (c. 1470-80, after the master, E. S.)
Madonna and Child Enthroned
 Gift of Dr. Robert Koch, Princeton, N. J., in memory of
 Dr. Clemens Sommer



Russian, 17th cent.
Icon: The Nativity
 Gift of Raleigh Fine Arts Society



Westphalian, 16th cent.
Christ Carrying the Cross
 Museum Art Purchase Fund

EMY ROEDER (German, born 1890): GESCHWISTER (Siblings), 1947, bronze, 11 high. Gift of Mrs. Charles Kistler, Fayetteville, in memory of Mr. George C. Myrover.

JAMES ROSENQUIST (American, born 1933): HENRY PEARSON AT WORK, pencil, 11 x 13½. Gift of Henry Pearson, New York, N. Y.

THEODORE ROUSSEAU (French, 1812-1867): LANDSCAPE, pencil, 5½ x 4½ (sight). Ben F. Williams Fund.

THE BEECH IN THE FOREST OF L'ISLE ADAM, c. 1866-67, oil on canvas, 31½ x 39¼. Museum Art Purchase Fund.

RUSSIAN, 16th century (?): ICON: THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST, 12¼ x 10¼. Gift of Mrs. Madeline Street, Greensboro.

RUSSIAN, late 17th century: ICON: THE NATIVITY, on panel, 21 x 17½. Raleigh Day Purchase Gift, 1968, Sponsored by the Raleigh Fine Arts Society.

ALBERT SALZBRENNER: OLD SORBONNE PROFESSOR, c. 1880, 53 x 35. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

SEVRES (French), 18th-19th century: PATCHBOX. Gift of Miss Monimia Fairfax MacRae, Wilmington and Asheville.

CLARE CONSUELO SHERIDAN (English, born 1885): HEAD OF WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1942, bronze, 18 high. Marjorie McCune Purchase Fund.*

JOHN "WARWICK" SMITH (English, 1749-1831): THE RUINS OF CAERNARVON CASTLE FROM THE INTERIOR, 1792, watercolor, 5¾ x 8¾. Gift of the English-Speaking Union, Chapel Hill, Durham and Raleigh.

ROBERT ALAN SMITH (American, contemporary): MOTHER AND CHILD III, serigraph, 12 x 9. Gift of Oscar Salzer Galleries, Los Angeles, Calif.

IMPRESSION, 1961, serigraph, ed. of 61; 22 x 36 (comp.). National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.

SAUL STEINBERG (American, born, 1914): ARIADNE, 1966, ink and pastel, 23 x 29. National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.

THOMAS SULLY (American, 1783-1872): PORTRAIT OF MISS UDNEY MARIA BLAKELY, 1830, on canvas, 30 x 25. Gift of the James G. Hanes Memorial Fund in memory of Lucy Hanes Chatham, and two anonymous donors.

SYRIAN and MEXICAN (MICHUACAN): FIVE SYRIAN and FIVE MICHUACAN FIGURINES. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cedric Marks, New York, N. Y.*

MARY LEATH THOMAS (American, 1905-1959): MUTED BIRDS, gouache, 14¾ x 21 (sight). Gift of the family of the artist.

THONET (Austrian, 19th century): BENT-WOOD ROCKING CHAIR. Ben F. Williams Fund.



Edgar Degas (Fr., 1834-1917)

Le Repos

Gift of the N. C. State Art Society



Eglog Hendrick van der Neer (Dutch, 1634-1703)
A Young Cavalier
 Gift of William Miesegaes, New York

ERNEST TROVA (American, born 1927): *THE FOLDING MAN*, chrome-plated bronze with plastic box. National Endowment for the Arts and North Carolina State Art Society Funds.*

TURKISH: NINE ITEMS: EIGHT PAINTINGS (on ivory and paper), 1 DRAWING. Gift of W. S. Miller, Raleigh.

UKRAINIAN: *ICON*, on panel, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$. Gift of Jules Gilmer Körner, Jr., Kernersville and Chevy Chase, Maryland.

VENETIAN, 19th century: 64 *PIECES OF GLASS* (goblets, plates, finger bowls). Gift of Miss Monimia Fairfax MacRae, Wilmington and Asheville, in memory of her parents.

SYLVIA WALD (American, born 1914): *HORIZONS*, serigraph, $\frac{2}{8}$, 19×28 (sight). Gift of the NCMA Docents.

CHRISTOPH WEIGEL (German, 1654-1725): *COUNT SIBERTUS HEISTER*, mezzotint, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Gift of Charles Whaley, Charlotte.

WESTPHALIAN or NETHERLANDISH, 16th century: *CHRIST CARRYING THE CROSS*, oak, $8\frac{1}{2}$ high. Museum Art Purchase Fund.

FRANCIS WHEATLEY (English, 1747-1801): *A CONVERSATION PIECE*, c. 1794. Gift of Newhouse Galleries, New York, N. Y.

MARGUERITE WILDENHAIN (American, contemporary): *BROAD VASE: SIESTA ON CAMPUS*, ceramic $6\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Craftsmen U. S. A. Exhibition Funds.

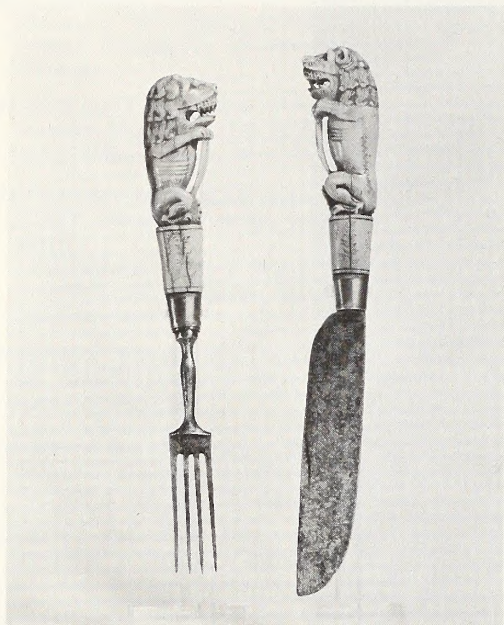
HIRAM WILLIAMS (American, born 1917): *FIGURE*, 1954, pen and wash, $38 \times 25\frac{1}{4}$. Gift of Hobson Pittman, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

ELLIS WILSON (American, contemporary): *TO MARKET*, 23×26 . Special Gift Fund.

HENRY WYATT (English, 1794-1840): *PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN*, oil on canvas, 30×25 . Gift of R. Philip Hanes, Winston-Salem.

PRIE DIEU, wood, painted, $34\frac{1}{4}$ high; and *MEXICAN BELL*. Gifts of Mrs. Grace Hogan, Asheville.

TWO *EMBROIDERED ROBES* and *A PIECE OF FABRIC*. Gift of Mrs. Godfrey Cheshire, Jr., Raleigh.



Dutch, 1756
Knife and fork
 Gift of NCMA docents



Dutch, 17th cent.
Delft vase
 Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Fred R. Klenner, Reidsville



German (Augsberg, 17th cent.)
Coffee pot
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh



Thomas Sully (Am., 1783-1872)

Miss Udney Maria Blakely

Gift of the James G. Hanes Memorial Fund in memory of Lucy Hanes
Chatham, and gift of two anonymous donors

Anthony Rasch (Am., c. 1815)

Silver tea service

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Jr., Raleigh

LENDERS TO THE MUSEUM—INDIVIDUALS

(Note: Not listed are those artists whose works were selected for the 1967 and 1968 North Carolina Artists Exhibitions.)

Miss Alice Adams, New York, N. Y.

Miss Barbara Adrian, New York, N. Y.

Olle Adrin, Sweden

Josef Albers, New Haven, Connecticut

Frank Albright, Winston-Salem

Mr. and Mrs. John V. Allcott, Chapel Hill

Herb Allred, Chapel Hill

Mr. and Mrs. Alex Andrews, Raleigh

John W. Aycock, Rocky Mount

Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Babcock, Winston-Salem

Mr. and Mrs. Smith Bagley, Winston-Salem

Mrs. Agnew H. Bahnson, Jr., Winston-Salem

Richard Brown Baker, New York, N. Y.

Will Barnet, New York, N. Y.

Miss Elizabeth Battle, Tarboro

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Hiram Williams (Am., 1917-)

Figure

Gift of Hobson Pittman, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

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 Ilya Bolotowsky, Albuquerque, New Mexico
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Sir Thomas Lawrence (Eng., 1769-1830)

Portrait of Antonio Canova

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, Greensboro, and Museum Art Purchase Fund

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 Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, Texas
 Asheville Art Museum, Asheville
 Avnet, Inc., New York, N. Y.
 Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland
 Bonino Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Byron Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Colonial Shoppe Antiques, Raleigh
 Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
 Design Gallery, Durham
 Duke University, Durham, The Brummer Collection
 Fendrick Gallery, Chevy Chase, Maryland
 Forum Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Georgia Centennial Commission
 Graham Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 James Graham & Sons, New York, N. Y.
 Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina
 Hammer Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Norman Hekler Associates, High Point
 Hickory Museum of Art, Hickory
 High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia



Mary Cassatt (Am., 1855-1926)

Sara Wearing Her Bonnet and Coat

Gift in memory of Margaret P. Ehringhaus (Margaret P. Ehringhaus Fund)

Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York, N. Y.
 Galerie Kamer, New York, N. Y.
 Kinston Arts Council, Kinston
 M. Knoedler & Company, New York, N. Y.
 Kraushaar Galleries, New York, N. Y.
 Marlborough-Gerson Galleries, New York, N. Y.
 The Maryland Institute
 Mint Museum of Art, Charlotte
 Multiples, Inc., New York, N. Y.
 Museum of Contemporary Crafts, New York, N. Y.
 Museum of Modern Art, New York, N. Y.
 Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri
 North Carolina National Bank
 North Carolina National Bank, Winston-Salem
 The Olsen Foundation, Guilford, Connecticut
 Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem
 Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Penland School of Crafts, Penland
 Photography in the Fine Arts V
 Stephen Radich Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Royal-Athena Galleries, New York, N. Y.
 Salem College, Winston-Salem
 Schoelkopf Gallery, New York, N. Y.
 Charles E. Slatkin Galleries, New York, N. Y.
 Smithsonian Institution, National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C.
 Southern Highlands Handicrafts Guild
 St. John's Art Gallery, Wilmington
 Supreme Court of North Carolina
 Tweed Art Gallery, Duluth, Minnesota
 "21" Restaurant, New York, N. Y.
 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts
 Weatherspoon Art Gallery, Greensboro
 Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, N. Y.
 Zabriskie Gallery, New York, N. Y.

LOANS FROM THE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

FORUM GALLERY, New York, N. Y.
 "The Portrayal of the Negro in American Painting,"
 September, 1967
 52.9.23 Christian Mayr, *Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs*

THE WESLEY FOUNDATION, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
 "Early Sculpture by Robert Howard," September, 1967
 57.42.2 Robert Howard, *Landscape II*
 58.4.18 Robert Howard, *Landscape VI*

ART GALLERY, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, N. Y.
 "Bernardo Strozzi," October 8-November 5, 1967
 GL.59.36.1 Bernardo Strozzi, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, Given in honor of Rachel Maxwell Moore by her brothers, R. J. and G. C. Maxwell, of Augusta, Georgia

THE NELSON GALLERY OF ART AND ATKINS MUSEUM, Kansas City, Missouri
 "Paintings of 17th Century Dutch Interiors," Decem-

ber 1, 1967-January 7, 1968
 52.9.52 Jacob Ochtervelt, *Cavaliers and Ladies*

WICHITA ART MUSEUM, Wichita, Kansas
 "Masterpieces of Religious Art," December 1, 1967-January 30, 1968
 52.9.100 Jacob Jordaens, *Christ Disputing with the Pharisees*

LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART, Los Angeles, California
 "Rico Lebrun," traveling exhibition, shown at Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Mexico, D. F.; University of Arizona, Tucson, University of California, Berkeley; Oklahoma Art Center, Oklahoma City; and National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C., December 5, 1967-March 15, 1969
 G.57.37.1 Rico Lebrun, *Sketch for the Crucifixion*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James B. Byrnes, Raleigh
 G.67.14.1 Rico Lebrun, *God made Adam out of mud (and he stays so)*, Gift of Walter Thrift, Virginia Beach, Virginia, and Blowing Rock, N. C.

PORTLAND ART MUSEUM, Portland, Oregon
 "Seventy-Five Masterworks," December 12, 1967-January 21, 1968
 52.9.16 Winslow Homer, *Weaning the Calf*

MINT MUSEUM OF ART, Charlotte
 Exhibition loan from the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, December 15, 1967-April 21, 1968
 G.67.5.1 Colima (Western Mexico), *Sitting Man*, Gift of Milton Fischmann, St. Louis, Missouri*

UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque
 "The Animal Kingdom," February 11-April 28, 1968
 52.9.151 Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Noah and the Animals*

THE SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM, New York, N. Y.; CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, Washington, D. C.; and the ROSE ART MUSEUM, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts;
 "Adolph Gottlieb," February 14-October 20, 1968
 G.65.10.21 Adolph Gottlieb, *Incubus*, Bequest of W. R. Valentiner

MINT MUSEUM OF ART, Charlotte
 Exhibition loan from the Mary Duke Biddle Gallery for the Blind, April 15, 1968-July 13, 1968
 66.10.1 Auguste Rodin, *Hand**

MINT MUSEUM OF ART, Charlotte
 "Age of Queen Charlotte," April, 1968
 52.9.30 Gilbert Stuart, *Queen Charlotte*
 52.9.29 Gilbert Stuart, *King George III*
 52.9.83 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Captain John Brice*
 52.9.80 George Morland, *Death of the Fox*

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

"This New Man," September 28-December 31, 1968
52.9.13 John A. Elder, *Jefferson Davis*

MUSEUM OF ART, RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN, Providence, Rhode Island

"Visions and Revisions," October 18-November 24, 1968
52.9.168 Bernardo Strozzi, *St. Lawrence Distributing the Goods of the Church*

THE BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART, Baltimore, Maryland

"From El Greco to Pollock: Early and Late Works by European and American Artists," October 22-December 8, 1968

Kress GL.60.17.57 Alessandro Magnasco, *Bay With Shipwreck*, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, N. Y.

G.56.13.1 Francisco Goya, *The Toppers*, Gift of the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation

52.9.224 Marie Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Portrait of Count Shuvaloff*

G.62.17.1 Anthony Van Dyck, *Mary, Duchess of Lennox*, Gift of Mrs. Laura LaForge Webb, Noroton, Connecticut

ACKLAND ART CENTER, Chapel Hill

"Arts of the Young Republic, 1784-1834; The Age of Dunlap," November 1-29, 1968

G.56.4.1 Rembrandt Peale, *Porthole Portrait of George Washington*, Gift of Mrs. Charles Lee Smith, Sr.; William Oliver Smith; Charles Lee Smith; and Mrs. Joseph H. Hardison; in memory of Dr. Charles Lee Smith.

SEATTLE ART MUSEUM, Seattle, Washington;
PASADENA ART MUSEUM, Pasadena, California;
and MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Boston, Massachusetts

"Ernst Ludwig Kirchner," November 23, 1968-April 20, 1969

G.65.10.30 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Panama Girls*, Bequest of W. R. Valentiner

G.65.10.32 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Flowers, Still Life*, Bequest of W. R. Valentiner

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, Ottawa, Canada

"Jacob Jordaens," November 29, 1968-January 5, 1969
52.9.101 Jacob Jordaens, *The Holy Family*

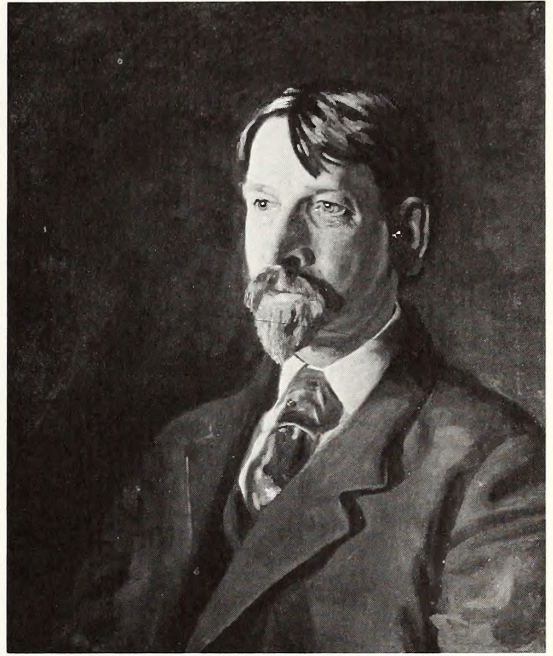
52.9.99 Jacob Jordaens, *Philemon and Baucis with the Gods*

G.55.7.1 Jacob Jordaens, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, Gift of John Motley Morehead, New York, N. Y.

MINT MUSEUM OF ART, Charlotte

"Culture Week" Exhibition, December 1-7, 1968

G.67.11.1 Pierre Auguste Renoir, *Girl Seated in a Garden*, Gift of the American Credit Corporation, Charlotte, in memory of Guy T. Carswell



Thomas Eakins (Am., 1844-1916)
Portrait of Dr. Albert C. Getchell
Museum Art Purchase Fund

THE ART GALLERIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, Santa Barbara; CALIFORNIA PALACE OF THE LEGION OF HONOR, San Francisco; PHOENIX ART MUSEUM, Phoenix, Arizona; and THE HECKSCHER MUSEUM, Huntington, New York

"The Enigma of Ralph A. Blakelock," January 7-June 23, 1969

52.9.1 Ralph Blakelock, *Sunrise*

THE MONTREAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Montreal, Canada, and THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO, Toronto, Canada

"Rembrandt and His Pupils," January 9-April 27, 1969
Kress GL.60.17.68 Rembrandt, *Young Man with a Sword*, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York, N. Y.

52.9.55 Rembrandt, *Esther's Feast*

52.9.41 Govaert Flinck, *The Return of The Prodigal Son*

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN MUSEUM OF ART, Ann Arbor, Michigan

"The World of Voltaire," March 30-May 11, 1969

G.55.2.1 William Hoare, *William Pitt, First Earl of Chatham*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Aubrey Lee Brooks, Greensboro

LOANS FROM THE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS
TO STATE OFFICES AND AGENCIES

- 57.42.1 Russell Arnold, *Painting No. 7*
G.60.3.1 J. Bardin, *Broken Trail*, Gift of The Ford Foundation, New York, N. Y.
48.1.1 Harriet Bogart, *Little Girl with Chicken*
Aaron Bohrod, *Mississippi Landscape*
52.6.1 Robert Broderson, *Quarry*
59.35.2 James Bumgardner, *Owling Table*
52.6.2 Jerry Caplan, *Carousel*
G.61.2.1 Joe Cox, *Yellow Wall*, Gift of the North Carolina State Art Society
John W. Dunsmore, *A Reverie* (Phifer Collection)
54.1.3 Harry Ellenzweig, *City Maze*
G.55.16.68-70 English, *Three Jardinieres*, Gifts of Ernest V. Horvath, New York, N. Y.
46.1.1 Kenneth Evett, *The Carpenter*
G.55.16.40 French, *Bust of Napoleon*, Gift of Ernest V. Horvath, New York, N. Y.
G.65.24.1 William C. A. Frerichs, *The Falls of Tama-haka, Cherokee County, N. C.*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George D. Finch, Thomasville
G.65.24.2 William C. A. Frerichs, *Storm over the Blue Ridge*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George D. Finch, Thomasville
G.57.3.1 Robert Goodnough, *Seated Figure*, Gift of James I. Merrill, New York, N. Y.
Birge Harrison, *Evening on the Seine* (Phifer Collection)
Birge Harrison, *Seascape* (Phifer Collection)
G.55.11.1 John Hoppner, *Lady Louisa Manners*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky, New York, N. Y.

- John Hoppner, *The Honorable Sherson, One of the First Directors of the East India Company* (Phifer Collection)
54.1.2 Claude Howell, *Beach Umbrellas*
47.1.1 Claude Howell, *Mending Nets*
52.9.17 George Inness, *Under the Greenwood*
LeRoy Ireland, *Still Life* (Phifer Collection)
G.63.7.1- Cyril Kay-Scott, 19 watercolors
52.9.200 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *The Deer Hunt*
G.62.22.2 Albert Charles Lebourg, *La Seine Près St. Cloud*, Gift of John L. Loeb, New York, N. Y.
G.52.22.1 Albert Charles Lebourg, *Notre Dame, Paris*, Gift of John L. Loeb, New York, N. Y.
56.28.1 Edith London, *Provincetown Memories*
G.58.16.1 Michele Giovanni Marieschi, *Castello near Venice*, anonymous gift.
G.55.1.4 Anton Mauve, *On the Dunes*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Max Dreyfus, New York, N. Y.
47.1.3 Earl Mueller, *Mill End*
53.1.3 Kenneth Ness, *Night Flight*
Rudolfo Procaccia, *L'Addio*
67.35.1 Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Puma*
56.28.2 Grove Robinson, *Regional Landscape No. 5*
Julian Rix, *Two Landscapes* (Phifer Collection)
Chauncey Ryder, *Haystack Mountains*, Gift of Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington in memory of her mother, Victoria Louise Clark Pendleton
Roswell Morse Shurtleff, *Landscape* (Phifer Collection)
51.2.2 Charles Sibley, *Set Nets*
Henry Pember Smith, *Old Oaks at Sunset* (Phifer Collection)
66.26.1 Francis Speight, *Sans Souci Ferry*
Stegnet, *Now Come Still Evening* (Phifer Collection)
G.28.2.16 Thomas Sully, *Mrs. John Ellis*, Gift of Robert F. Phifer, Concord
G.55.1.1 Arthur F. Tait, *Stag and Doe in Landscape*, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Max Dreyfus, New York, N. Y.
T. G. Vibert, *Cook and Poultry* (Phifer Collection)
Frederick Waugh, *Landscape*, Gift of Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington in memory of her mother, Victoria Louise Clark Pendleton
Unknown artist, *Portrait of a Lady* (Phifer Collection)
Unknown artist, *Clouds-Blue Day in June* (Phifer Collection)
Unknown artist, *Landscape* (Phifer Collection)

NINA KASANOF
Registrar



Venetian (19th cent.)

Glass

Gift of Miss Monimia MacRae, Asheville, in memory of her parents



Antonio Puga (Sp., Act. 1650-1660)

Moorish Servant

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Cone, Greensboro

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE ART REFERENCE LIBRARY

July 1, 1967-June 30, 1969

Since the 1967 Biennial Report, the Library has moved into more spacious quarters (in March, 1968). This move was directed by Mrs. Janie Wood, library assistant, as Mrs. Elaine Chu, librarian, had resigned her position in February. Mrs. Wood kept the library functioning for the next four months, until the arrival in mid-June, 1968, of Miss Gaylle S. Garrison to take up her duties as librarian.

ACQUISITIONS

Books	200
Periodical subscriptions	43 (25 purchase; 6 memberships; 12 gifts)
Exchange and exhibition catalogues	571 (329 domestic; 247 foreign)
Pamphlets	647
TOTALS	
Books	6435
Color slides	3299

Number of items catalogued	4265
Color transparencies	131
Black and white photographs	5086
Negatives	932

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Francis Wheatley (Eng., 1747-1801)
A Conversation Piece
Gift of Newhouse Galleries, New York

NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

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NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Bulletin

VOLUME IX

NUMBERS 3 and 4

MARCH 1970

Clemens Sommer Memorial Issue

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LIBRARY

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

1950

NOTICE OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1950

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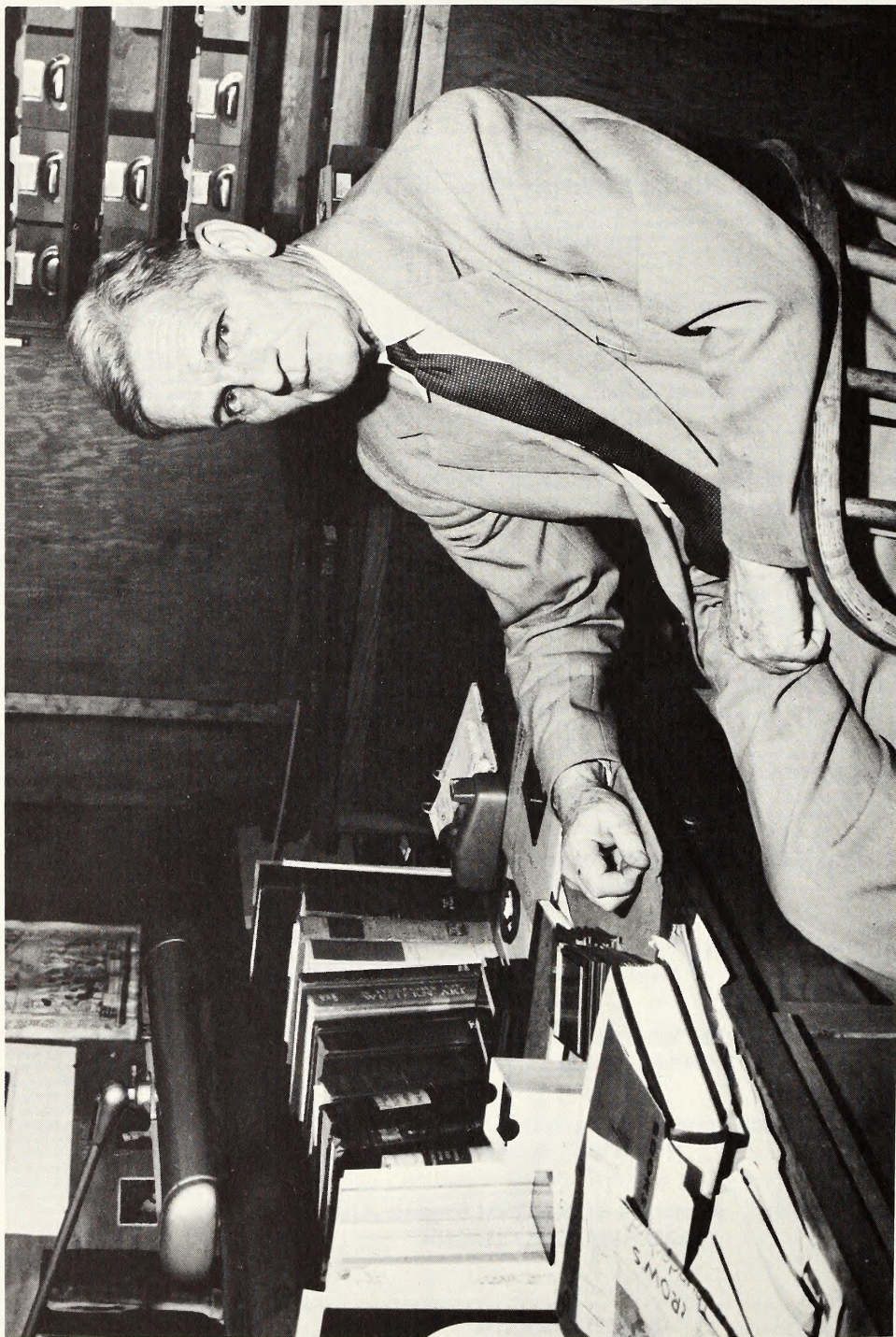
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CONTENTS

Clemens Sommer as a Teacher	5
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Articles

The Statue of a Madonna with the Protective Cloak by Peter Koellin of Esslingen	7
JUSTUS BIER	
A Note on John B. Flannagan's "Bear"	15
JOSEPH S. BOLT	
Medieval Islamic Leather Bookbindings	21
GULNAR K. BOSCH	
Peculiarities in the Relation of Text and Image in Two Prints by Peter Bruegel	25
PHILIPP P. FEHL	
Quentin Massys' "Salvator Mundi"	37
STANLEY FERBER	
The Virgin and Child Attributed to Isenbrandt	43
MAY DAVIS HILL	
A Rubens Portrait of Charles the Bold	53
FRANCES HUEMER	
Master E. S. and a Gothic Mother-of-Pearl Roundel	59
ROBERT A. KOCH	
Marino Marini as Portraitist	67
WILLIAM MANGUM	
The St. Matthew Page in the "Hours of Catherine of Cleves"	69
CHARLES ILSLEY MINOTT	
A Note on French Revolutionary Iconography	75
JOSEPH C. SLOANE	
The Composite Nativity—Adoration of Medieval English Alabasters	83
MARY EVELYN STRINGER	
List of Publications	92
JOSEPH RANKIN	



Clemens Sommer at his desk in Person Hall, UNC-Chapel Hill, about 1955. Photo by Sam Boone.

CLEMENS SOMMER AS A TEACHER

It is not easy to define the magic of Dr. Sommer as a teacher, though his magnetic personality is deeply involved. His intuitive imagination in interpreting the correspondence between art and life, his gentle humor, breadth of knowledge and depth of intellect, and above all his interest in the student as an individual, combined to give him a Pied-Piper-like quality which attracted many students to the history of art. All who came to his lectures, intentionally or from idle curiosity, stayed to learn, and they benefited enormously, realizing that they were in the presence of a very special teacher.

Dr. Sommer's attraction was not based on classroom "entertainment," and he tended to eschew the amusing anecdote; nevertheless his style was lively, as he brought everyone to the realization that the study of the history of art was a serious humanist discipline, a fact understood and recognized today by nearly every American higher educational institution but a novelty when he arrived in the United States in 1938.

His was an optimistic point of view which freed the mind for new possibilities.

He was never happier than when presenting a student with an unknown work of art and receiving an analysis and conclusions given not only in terms of connoisseurship but with an awareness of meaningfulness within the work itself and the period in time from which it evolved.

The ultimate test of his success as a teacher is the fact that he imparted a vital spark which opened the art history field as a vocation to many students, a number of whom—together with several colleagues—have contributed an essay for this special issue of the *Bulletin* of the North Carolina Museum of Art.

The editors wish to thank, in addition, Dr. Robert Lee Humber and Dr. Justus Bier for making the pages of the *Bulletin* available for this purpose; Mr. Dallas Caldwell and others for special contributions; and Miss Helen Tucker of the staff of the Museum for seeing this memorial issue through the press.

May Davis Hill
Robert A. Koch



Fig. 1. Peter Koellin (German, active c. 1470)
Madonna with the Protective Cloak
Gift of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

THE STATUE IN THE NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART
OF A *MADONNA WITH THE PROTECTIVE CLOAK*
BY PETER KOELLIN OF ESSLINGEN

An outstanding gift among those the North Carolina Museum of Art received during the biennium 1961-63, and a major addition to the Museum's collections of sculpture, is Peter Koellin's *Madonna with the Protective Cloak*, donated in 1961 by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company of Winston-Salem (Figs. 1-5).¹

The theme of the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak* belongs among a group of new images that was created during the latter part of the Middle Ages, in answer to a distinct need for images suitable for contemplation in private devotions.²

To our knowledge no other American museum has been able to acquire a sculpture representing this not infrequent iconographic theme, of which Vera Sussmann's far from complete catalogue of 1929 lists no less than 115 examples in the territories of Germany and what formerly comprised the Austro-Hungarian empire alone. The *Madonna with the Protective Cloak* is, however, a devotional theme certainly rarer than, for instance, those of the *Pietà*, and the *Man of Sorrows*, but certainly far more frequent than the group of Christ and St. John, representing the favorite disciple of Christ leaning his head against Christ's shoulder. An example of the latter that isolates this highly emotional image of just these two figures from the representation of the Last Supper was acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1928, bringing into an American public collection one of the outstanding examples of this theme and of German art of the medieval period.³

Wilhelm Pinder in his studies on German medieval sculpture has given special attention to this group of devotional images. He discovered the poetical source from which the theme of the *Pietà* sprang a concept that was isolated first in poetical form from that of the *Deposition* before it became an image in the visual arts.⁴ The *Pietà* shows Mary and Christ only, Mary embracing and contemplating the body of her dead Son before his burial.

Pinder pointed to the literary root of the image of the Madonna with the protective cloak, following the earlier research of Krebs and Perdrizet.⁵ He found it in a prayer: "Sub tuum presidium confugimus, sancta Dei genetrix, nostras deprecationes," which is translated: "Under your protection, Holy Mother of God, we take refuge with our prayers." This prayer first appeared in a Greek form, and it was Charlemagne who had it translated into Latin for adaptation in the West.⁶ Then in the first half of the 13th century Caesarius of Heisterbach in his *Dialogus miracolorum* depicts a vision: a Cistercian monk sees the Queen of Heaven in all her glory, surrounded by saints and representatives of the monastic orders; but his own is lacking and, shocked, he asks her for the reason: "and she opened her mantle cloak, which one saw flowing around her and which had a miraculous width, and showed him an innumerable crowd of monks, converses and nuns."⁷ Pinder points to the fact that in words an image had been created, which in the following century became a theme of the visual arts,⁸ exactly as the image of the *Pietà*



Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1
Heads of Madonna and Child

had first been created as a poetical vision before it became a theme adopted through the Christian world as the most telling condensation of the Passion of Christ.

The sculpture of the Virgin with the Protective Cloak in the collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art is the type which has been described as the *mater omnium*, the mother of all, protecting under her cloak representatives of both estates, the secular and the spiritual, symbolizing through these the total Christian world as it must have appeared to an artist's mind in this age before the Reformation.⁹ To the right of the Madonna are placed the representatives of the spiritual estate to which as a matter of course this place of honor was given. It is led by the kneeling figure of the Pope who folds

his hands in prayer. He is characterized by his triple crown, the tiara, and is placed opposite the Emperor, who appears in the same position, also kneeling and with hands folded, on the Madonna's left side. Above Pope and Emperor appear other representatives of the spiritual and secular estates in a vertical arrangement that certainly must have appeared old-fashioned in a 15th century work and obviously harks back to 14th century representations of the theme. Above the Pope appear a Cardinal, also with hands folded in prayer and characterized by his broad red hat from which cords and tassels hang down on both sides; a bishop with his miter; two monks; two nuns; and finally, a group of young novices, surrounding a man with a skullcap who must represent the schoolmaster, a member of the chapter of a cathedral in charge of the school in which these novices were taught.

Above the Emperor at the Madonna's left side appear two knights with their visors raised, so that their eyes and noses show. Above these two men are seen: a young one and an old bearded one, and two women: one a young girl, the other an elderly person with the linen headdress that characterized married women. As the eye moves upward, another young girl appears and a number of young men's faces, some showing broad smiles, others apparently asleep.

Mary supports with her bent right arm and outstretched hand the Christ Child who gives His blessing with His raised right hand, one that could be understood as offered to all of mankind's representatives who have gathered under Mary's protective mantle. Mary wears a white dress bordered with broad gold bands and



Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 1
Figures under left side of mantle
Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, etc.

expensive even than the gold leaf used on the borders of her dress and on the outside of her mantle. Mary sets her foot on the moon—a motif indicating the Virgin's rank as Queen of Heaven. The moon is represented with a human face inside its gilt crescent. This moon face is silvered where it appears bare between the white linen wrappings that surround its forehead and chin. Such wrappings are quite similar to those worn by married women of the period. Today the silver on the moon's face has worn off so that the red bole, the coat of clay on which the silver leaf was applied, has come to the surface, with only traces of the tarnished silver on it. This coat of red clay itself is applied over a layer of gesso that covers the lindenwood in which the figure was carved.

The Madonna with the Protective Cloak in Raleigh shows clearly a combination of influences which can be traced to two schools, the School of Ulm, of which Hans Multscher was the towering figure around the middle of the 15th century, and the School of Strasbourg where Nicolaus Gerhaert von Leyden dominated the art of this period even after the commission for the tomb of Emperor Frederick took him to Vienna in 1469. We might surmise that the master of *The Madonna with the Protective Cloak* was trained in Ulm and might in his journeyman years have crossed over into the Alsace before he returned to Suabia. It probably should be pointed out that the Raleigh Madonna seems to betray its sculptor's acquaintance with Hans Multscher's monumental Madonna for the Sterzing Altarpiece, which has to be dated 1456-58. This Madonna, which after the dismantling of Multscher's altarpiece,

found a new home in the town hall of this South Tyrolean city, shows the Madonna—as in the Raleigh work—standing on the crescent of the moon with the moon's face turned upward inside the crescent. There are also certain similarities of expression in the appearance of the Child, as well as of Mary who, however, in Mutschers work shows more decidedly the tragic expression which was based on the belief that the Virgin foresaw the tragic fate of her Child.



Fig. 4. Detail of Fig. 1
Figures under right side of mantle
Emperor, knights, etc.

Looking around the Suabian scene during the period in question for stylistically related works leads the searcher to the previously mentioned "Pietà of 1471," acquired from Hedelfingen for the Landesmuseum in Stuttgart, although it was originally created for the Church of the Convent of Dominican Nuns at Weil near Esslingen. This Pietà of 1471 (Fig. 5) was first identified by Hans Rott as a work of the *Bildhauer* Peter Koellin of Esslingen.¹⁰ It is decidedly one of the great works of wood sculpture of the period, as is the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak* in the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh.

Both works show the same robust, vigorous realism adapted from Nicolaus Gerhaert von Leyden, although the subtlety of this master's style surpasses the considerable ability of Koellin.¹¹ Both of Koellin's works show a use of diagonal thrusts in the arrangement of garments and folds, similar indeed to the arrangements found in Nicolaus Gerhaert's figures. The expression of quiet dignity that has been praised by Otto Wertheimer as characteristic of the figure of Mary in the "Pietà of 1471" is found again in the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak*.

Where was the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak* carved? There is no doubt that the work is Suabian. Mary's face is a typically Suabian one with its high forehead over slightly slanted eyes, and a small pursed mouth under a straight small-bridged nose. The Christ Child holds in His left hand a piece of fruit which—as often in 15th century works—replaces the orb Christ holds in His left hand in earlier and more formal representations.¹² The Christ Child is shown



Fig. 5. Peter Koellin
Pieta of 1417
Convent of Dominican Nuns, Weil

here naked except for the loincloth He wears.¹³ His facial features are truly child-like in accordance with the trend originated by St. Francis of Assisi for accepting the Christ Child as the true "Son of Man," whereas in older works the Christ Child often appears as a man fully grown but dwarfed in size. The artist gives the Christ Child a seriousness of expression, however, as though He understands the meaning of the blessing He offers mankind as its Savior.

Little biographical information about Peter Koellin is available. It is known that he had the same name as his father. Nothing, however, is known of other members of his family except for one Peter Köllin, carpenter and burgher at

Reutlingen, known from documents of 1520, who is presumed to be his son. His birth and death dates are also unknown, but he is recorded as a sculptor in Esslingen from 1479 to 1502. In 1489 he was living temporarily in Reutlingen.¹⁴ So far, only two works of art have been attributed to Peter Koellin: the "Pietà of 1471," attributed by Rott to this master,¹⁵ and the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak* discussed here.

This is not the place to relate the involved history of the theme of the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak*, except to say that it first appeared in Italian painting in the circle of Duccio and was later adopted for sculpture in the North of Europe.¹⁶ It is one of those themes for

devotional images that flowered in the 14th century, reaching a second decisive peak in popularity when the new means of 15th century realism became available to sculptors, who were struggling with a theme of a decidedly visionary nature. The *Madonna with the Protective Cloak*

in the North Carolina Museum of Art is a fine example of the representation of this theme in Germany in the late 15th century.

Justus Bier
North Carolina Museum of Art

NOTES

¹Lindenwood, painted and gilded over gesso. Height 57 inches, width of base 25 inches, depth 9½ inches. Cf. North Carolina Museum of Art, *Calendar of Art Events*, V, No. 3 (December 1961), pp. 3-4; *The New York Times*, December 25, 1961, X, 15, under "Gallery Openings, Museum Exhibitions"; *Emporium*, June 1962, p. 29; *Museum News*, Journal of the American Association of Museums, Washington, D. C., Vol. 41, No. 4 (December 1962), p. 3; *La Chronique des Arts, Supplément à la "Gazette des Beaux-Arts,"* No. 1129, Février 1963, p. 24, Fig. 99; Charles W. Stanford, Jr., *Masterpieces in the North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1966, p. 76f.

²Cf. Wilhelm Pinder, *Die Deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance*, Erster Teil (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Wildpark-Potsdam, 1924, pp. 92-107, chapter 5, "Die neuen Motive des 14. Jahrhunderts" (The new motifs of the 14th Century), b) "Die neuen Inhalte: Das Andachtsbild" (The new content: The devotional image). The subchapter on the *Madonna with the Protective Cloak* on pp. 105-107 includes a listing of the literature on this theme, among which Paul Perdrizet, *La Vierge de la Miséricorde; Étude d'un thème iconographique*, Paris, 1908 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 101) is the basic work. To the literature quoted by Pinder should be added an important, more recent contribution: Vera Sussman, "Maria mit dem Schutzmantel," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, V, 1929, pp. 285-351 also paginated as pp. 1-67).

³Cf. The Cleveland Museum of Art, *Handbook*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1966, illustrated p. 5.

⁴Cf. Wilhelm Pinder, "Marienklage," *Genius*, I, 1919, p. 20ff.; Wilhelm Pinder, "Die dichterische Wurzel der Pietät," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1920, p. 145ff.

⁵Cf. the literature quoted in note 2 and further Krebs, "Maria mit dem Schutzmantel am Freiburger Münster," *Freiburger Münsterblätter*, I, 1905, pp. 27-35.

⁶Cf. Pinder, *Die Deutsche Plastik . . .*, 1929, p. 105.

⁷Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum*, Book VII, 59, ed. Strange. Bonn und Cologne, 1851, II, 79.

⁸Cf. Pinder, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 105.

⁹Cf. Sussmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 34ff. and 55ff.

¹⁰Cf. Hans Rott, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Süd-Westdeutschen und Schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert . . .*, Vol. II: Altschwaben und die Reichsstädte, Stuttgart, 1933-38.

¹¹Otto Wertheimer, *Nicolaus Gerhaert, Seine Kunst und seine Wirkung*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1929, p. 70.

¹²Cf. the Virgin with the Christ Child of about 1430 in St. Sebald's Church in Nuremberg where the Christ Child holds a pear with both hands.

¹³In the Nuremberg work just mentioned the Christ Child is shown completely nude.

¹⁴Both Esslingen and Reutlingen are Suabian cities. Esslingen was a free imperial city until 1802 when it became part of Württemberg. After 1945 it was incorporated in the newly formed state of Württemberg-Baden. It is located only six miles from Stuttgart, whereas Reutlingen is 20 miles south of this city, in Württemberg-Hohenzollern.

¹⁵Cf. Rott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Fig. 39.

¹⁶Cf. Sussmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 312, and Perdrizet, *loc. cit.*, p. 64.



Fig. 1. John B. Flannagan (Am., 1895-1942)
Bear
Bequest of W. R. Valentiner to NCMA

A NOTE ON JOHN B. FLANNAGAN'S *BEAR*

From the very outset of his short career as a sculptor John Bernard Flannagan (1895-1942) practiced Brancusi's theory of *taille directe* production. Indeed all of his major work up until approximately the last six years of his life when he worked in bronze was cut directly in wood or stone, this latter being his favorite medium.¹ However, Flannagan periodically had small pieces reproduced in "artificial stone" by a professional caster and then finished them in his own studio. The North Carolina Museum of Art has such a piece in its collection. It is the very small *Bear* bequeathed to the Museum by Dr. W. R. Valentiner (Fig. 1). The *Bear* is cast in a mica-spotted, gray-brown material and is a replica of the fieldstone "Grisly Bear" made by Flannagan in 1940 and now belonging to Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann.²

Flannagan's *Bear*, like several others of his works, the best known being his "Jonah" of 1936-37 (Fig. 2), is so mounted on its base that it suggests the knife-like thinness of a type of pre-Columbian stone axe,³ and it is altogether probable that he was in this work influenced by the sculptural character of certain Panamanian and Mexican artifacts. He felt a great kinship with the art of all preliterate societies as he tried to create a sculpture which looked more found than made. His primitivising inclination caused him to produce a very large number of animal works almost all of which remarkably achieve the aspect of isolated totemic symbols. None of the major pieces is merely a representation of the peculiarities of a

specific animal type; nor was Flannagan in the ordinary sense a sentimentalizer on animal life. It is almost by chance that he was a sculptor of animals though he would feel little affinity for Barye or any of his own contemporaries working in the genre.

It is only when one reviews all the known Flannagan sculpture, figure pieces as well as animals, and relates them to statements appearing in his letters and in the "Credo" that it becomes clear that the small and seemingly insignificant works like *Bear* are the embodiment of some of his most important thought.⁴ Flannagan was concerned with large, abstract ideas but his attempts to express them on a large scale were generally less successful, and his only monumental piece was truly a fiasco.⁵

With the encouragement of Arthur B. Davies, his "discoverer", in the 1920's Flannagan was still only beginning to learn how to cut a stone, but he had already attempted in wood the theme which was to prepossess him, even to obsess him throughout his career. One of his earliest significant works of this kind is the relatively unknown "Mother Earth" of 1926-27, a birth theme; his last work, "Beginning," a bronze, displays the new-born child between the legs of a mother seated upon the ground. Between these two works, in 1935 to 1940, Flannagan essayed "Triumph of the Egg" (two versions, Figs. 3 and 4) and "New One" (Fig. 5) to name only the most obvious examples, and a great variety of other subjects the real content of which is the idea of birth.⁶

It is not possible to say just what mean-

ing Flannagan gave to birth phenomena in his very earliest sculpture. By 1936, however, he had arrived at his essential view of the inseparability of birth and death. The "Triumph of the Egg, Number

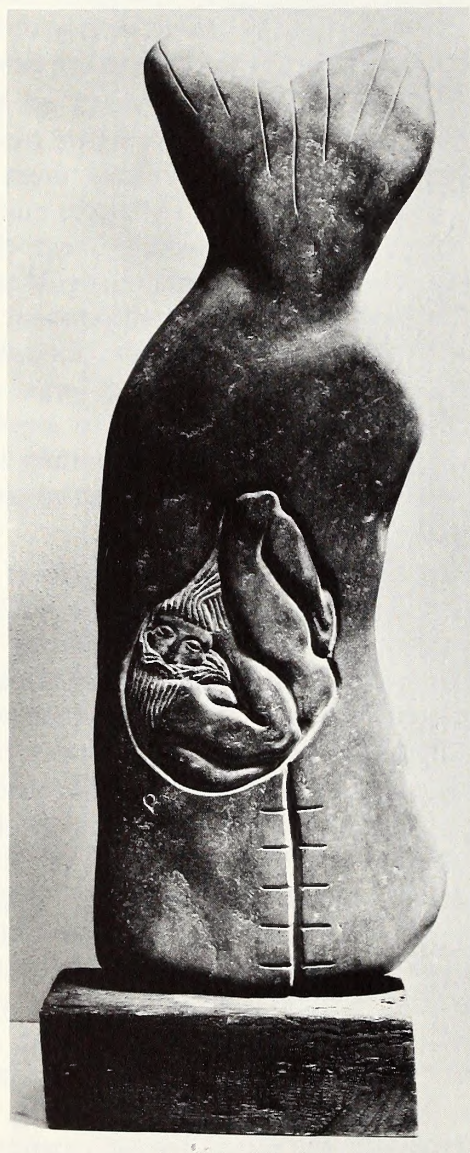


Fig. 2. John B. Flannagan
Jonah and the Whale—Rebirth Motif, 1937
 Milton Lowenthal Collection, New York

1," so often construed as a triumph of life over sheer inertia, the bird over the egg, the neonate over its vehicle, is, indeed not that. A letter to Carl Zigrosser makes it clear that he thought of the bird as a captive of its shell as he had proposed calling this piece "Still Born Bird."⁷ In other words, his ironic final title should be read quite literally to mean a triumph of the egg over its product.

To say that Flannagan's ideas on the birth-death event were both complex and morose is to understate the case. The artist lived through an almost unbelievable number of personal crises, including incurable alcoholism, suicide attempts, incarceration in a mental institution, and eventually accident and resultant brain damage. He viewed his life as having begun in trauma and continued in agony. He read Schopenhauer and found in that philosopher an echo of his belief that this is the worst of all possible worlds and it were better not to have existed at all. In some late attempts to produce an autobiography he represented his childhood as one of neglect and desertion by his mother; he even chose to have been born at a different time and at a different place.⁸ In brief, although it is true that Flannagan's life was a harsh one, his view of that life was profoundly pathological.

Among Flannagan's works the writer has found that the most constant subjects are those of abortive birth, suspension *in utero*, sleep, hibernation, torpid emergence, death. Whereas all may not be precisely synonymous states in reality, they were for the artist merely stages in the passage from birth to death which for Flannagan, it must be said, was hardly more than a movement out of non-

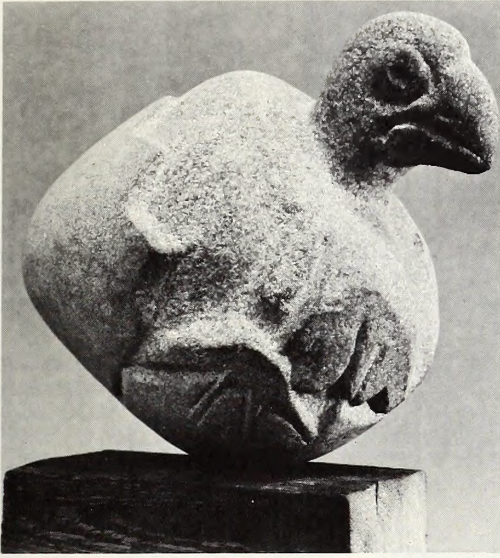


Fig. 3. John B. Flannagan
Triumph of the Egg, No. 1, 1936-37
Museum of Modern Art, New York

existence back into non-existence. And the works are in this context the somewhat covert expression of his sense of personal ineffectuality and of a wish, as he said, to return to being a part of the earth.

In the "Credo" Flannagan speaks of "a stirring impulse from the depth of the unconscious"; he is "haunted by all the old dreams," and one of those he cites is "the fearsome monster fantasy" which he does not further clarify, although one supposes that it is the unconscious of which he was too aware and which he so graphically describes in an account of a terrifying hallucination.⁹ Flannagan's credo contains more positive references, viz., to "the deep pantheistic urge of kinship with all living things," "the fundamental unity of all life," "the great longing and hope of the ever recurrent and still surviving dream, the wishful rebirth fantasy." But these phrases are overshadowed by a

darker language of death references and his final assertion is that "the artistic representation of the organic and living now takes on an abstract lifeless order and becomes, instead of the likeness of what is conditioned, the symbol of what is unconditioned and invariable, as though seeking the timeless, changeless finality of death."

Flannagan's last projected work, planned for his "year of completion," and celebrating the end of "an evil existence," was to have been a *pietà*. It was never executed. Intended to represent his belated act of expiation toward a mother of whom he said bitterly that his birth had kept her home from mass, he called it also an expression of his desire to rejoin the original principle of the earth, "the only earth of which I shall ever own a part."

The sculptor's most eloquent characterization of himself as an artist working through "a queer atavistic nostalgia" points to his sympathy with Ananda



Fig. 4. John B. Flannagan
Triumph of the Egg, No. 2, 1940
John S. Newberry Collection, New York

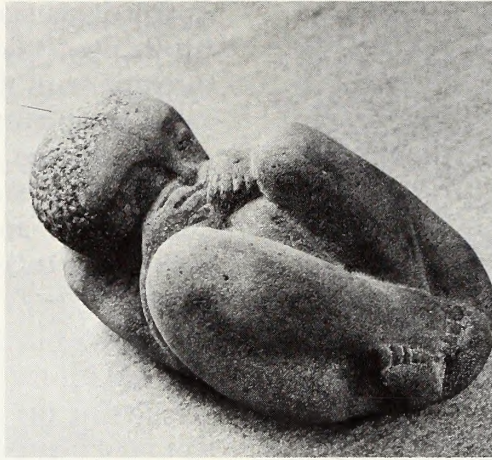


Fig. 5. John B. Flannagan
New One, 1935
 Walker Art Center, Minneapolis

Coomaraswami's description of the Indian sculptor's search for the mystically inherent image, the stone's secret, its *pneuma* which it is the fortune of the artist to liberate.¹⁰ But in retrospect the nostalgia and atavism may be even more meaningful as keys to the extraordinarily personal significance of Flannagan's sculpture. His *Bear* hibernant and foetally confined, bespeaks temporal arrestment and thereby suggests paradoxically both eternity and extinction. This writer has elsewhere interpreted the many small ani-

mals as surrogates for the humanity toward which Flannagan felt a hardly concealed misanthropy. He "peopled" his sculptural world with avatars of his own making, the small souls of the Buddhist world of co-existence. Yet is it too much in view of the persistency of his death ideology to regard these sleeping creatures also as symbols of his desire for release from life?

Joseph S. Bolt
 University of Alabama

NOTES

¹Flannagan's very first metal (silver, copper, bronze) sculpture done while he was an inmate of Bloomingdale Hospital in 1934-35 is "Toward the Sun," less than three inches high, now in the possession of his daughter, Moira Flannagan Henry.

²Height 9 inches. The late Frederick Zimmerman, contrabassist with the New York Philharmonic, owned a number of Flannagan works. Among them are "Giraffe" (wood, c1924), "Crucifix" (wood and ivory, c1925), *Christ* (wood, c1925), "Mother Earth" (wood, 1926-27), "Bear on its Back" (stone, 1938), "Grisly Bear" (stone, 1940).

³"Jonah and the Whale—Rebirth Motif" (stone, 1937), Milton Lowenthal, New York.

⁴Margherita La Costa Flannagan (ed.), *John B. Flannagan: Letters*, Curt Valentin, N.Y.: 1942. The "Credo" appeared posthumously as "Image in the Rock" in the *Magazine of Art*, March 1942, pp. 90-95.

⁵This is the "Gold Miner" (stone, 1936-38) in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

⁶"Mother Earth" (wood, 1926-27) is owned by Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann. "Beginning" (bronze, 1941) is in the collection of the University of Arizona at Tempe. "Triumph of the Egg, Number 1" (stone, 1936-37) belongs to the Museum of Modern Art, New York and version number 2 (stone, 1940) is in the collection of John S. Newberry, New York, "New One" (stone, 1935) is at Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

⁷The letter to Zigrosser is dated 4 July 1937. *Letters*, no. 35, pp. 59-60. It is most likely that Flannagan took his title from Sherwood Anderson's play of the same name.

⁸The autobiography was never completed. He was born in Fargo, North Dakota, in 1895, not 1897, and not in Woburn, Massachusetts, as was reported (from his own statements) after his suicide in 1942.

⁹In a letter to Carl Zigrosser, September 1930, in *Letters*, no 8, pp. 28-30.

¹⁰My analysis of Flannagan's language indicates that it is a quite remarkable amalgam of Nietzsche, Wilhelm Worringer, Kandinsky, Coomaraswami, Jung, and Joyce laced with a generous proportion of ribald Irish humor.

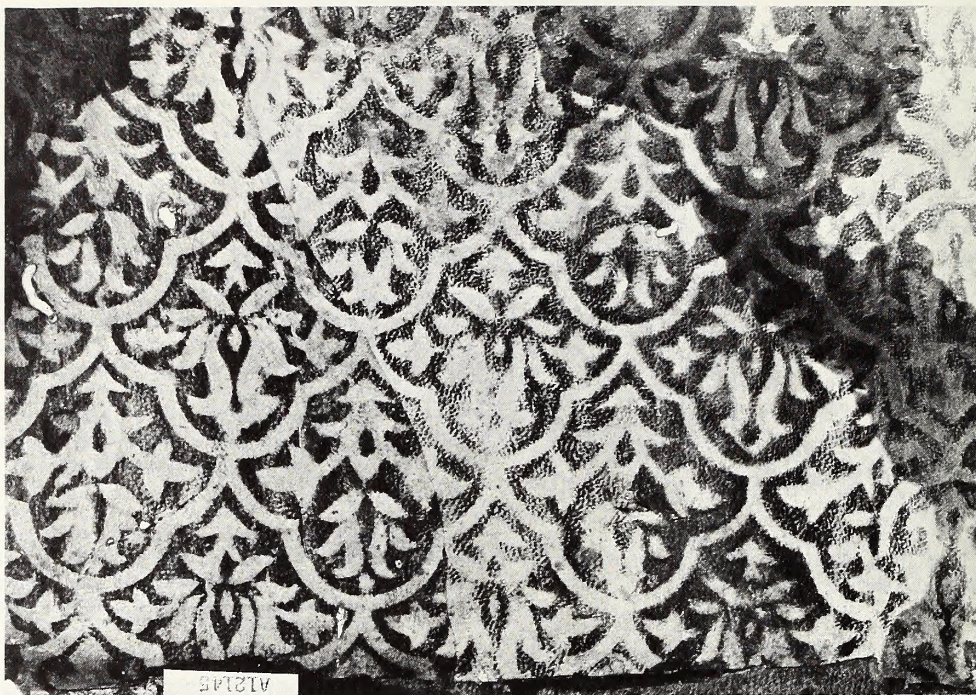


Fig. 1. Islamic Doublure (Detail)
The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

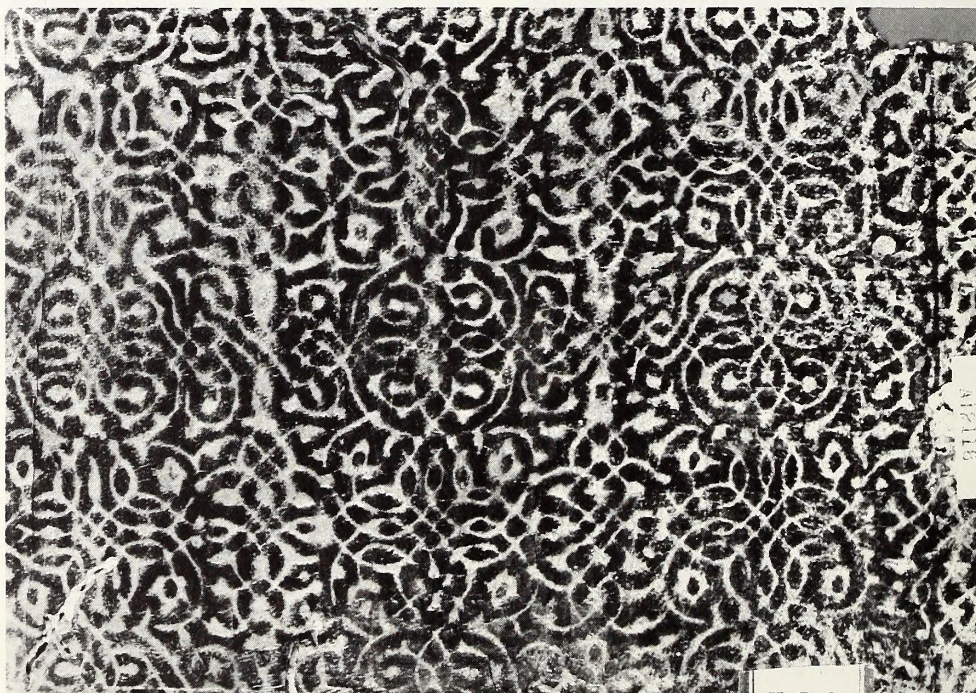


Fig. 2. Islamic Doublure (Detail)
The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC LEATHER BOOKBINDINGS: NOTES ON BLOCK-PRESSED DOUBLURES

Literary evidence concerning the Islamic bookbinder, *mujallid* (plural, *mujallidun*), merges his identity as an artist-craftsman with that of others who participated in the production of books and the book trade under the designation *warraq* (plural, *warraqun*). Their trade activities were prolific extending across the Islamic world.¹

The material evidence of medieval Islamic leather bookbindings substantiates the interregional aspects. The Islamic bookbinding is generally a single piece of leather consisting of a flap, a fore edge on which the title or other indication may be written and two covers connected by a spine. Of special interest is the frequent use of doublures, thin leather linings with block-pressed or mold-pressed ornamentation found on bindings from Egypt, Syria, Persia, Turkey, South Arabia and the Maghrib or North Africa.² Some of the patterned doublures have been described earlier by Adam,³ Karabacek,⁴ and Gratzl,⁵ more recently by Ettinghausen⁶ and Weisweiler⁷ however, their ornamental types, their production in quantity and their geographical distribution have not been considered.

A basic difference exists between the sober composite tooled and stamped patterns of the exteriors and these sophisticated patterns of the block-pressed linings which are interweaves of geometric and organic form. Do these block-pressed doublures with their rich and varied ornamental patterns represent many centers of

production or do they originate in a region of high style capable of combining eclectic elements? The patterns range from geometric rectilinear ornaments through curvilinear arabesques, from static scales to luxuriant natural growths, and from delicate spiral rinceaux to awkward bulbous flowers (Figs. 1 and 2).

In Professor Weisweiler's recently published book, where average bindings were selected, over a fifth of 387 examples had doublures of this type.⁸ In examining the Oriental Institute collection of the University of Chicago, with which I am most familiar, block-pressed doublures occurred on over half the bindings. Some were used to line luxury bindings.⁹ Some of Weisweiler's examples and those in other collections were examined and a study of the ornament showed that many of the same patterns were used to line bookbindings of different regions.¹⁰

Forrer has given us a precedent in discussing textiles printed by wooden blocks fabricated in Egypt since late classical time, then exported in quantity all over the Mediterranean area.¹¹ He also discusses the method of printing and the block-printer's link with the printers of books. A significant point is that these textiles were cut into garments disregarding the patterns and Forrer concludes that this was precisely because such stamped fabrics were a commercial trade product and not an individualized order.¹²

In most cases, for pressing leather rather than printing, a change in the tech-

nique of cutting the block was necessary. The design was intaglio and the background or remaining surface pressed the damp thin leather, leaving it dark while the ornamental portion remained light. Some of the block-pressed or mold-pressed doublures show in the careless repeats and overlaps of the block a similar disregard noted in trade product textiles.

Many of the doublure patterns are closely allied with Indian textile designs on the printed cotton fabrics found in burial grounds at Fustat, Egypt.¹³ Pfister has investigated these textiles which proved to be remnants of a large scale importation of inexpensive printed cottons from India to Egypt dating from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. He has explored the possibilities of Indian workshops in Egypt and of Indian centers producing fabrics to the taste of Islamic merchants.¹⁴

Several twelfth and thirteenth century manuscripts with presumably contemporary bindings are described by Weisweiler¹⁵ as having these mold-pressed doublures; so the time during which they came into use would seem to be earlier than the lining of the *Qur'an* of 1304 in the Teheran Archaeological Museum illustrated by Ettinghausen.¹⁶ The bindings with the latest date having such doublures

are those designated as South Arabian. Gratzl cites one with a manuscript of 1509¹⁷ and Weisweiler, one with a manuscript of 1526.¹⁸

The comparison of various block-pressed doublures appears to indicate the connection of the Egyptian-Syrian region with each type of pattern including those that are of Indian inspiration. The various doublure patterns block-pressed on entire skins were probably available to the book binders of the pre-eminent region while through the *warraqun* each of the other regions imported patterns according to the fashion and regional preferences. Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to expect provincial imitations in a flourishing workshop that was capable of producing books with luxury bindings in addition to quantities of books with average bindings. The doublures often evidence a lack of concern in the choice of lining pattern in relation to the book cover. In some instances, different doublure patterns are used on the two covers and the flap, leaving us to conclude that block-pressed leather like the printed fabrics were a convenient commercial trade product.

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NOTES

¹G. K. Bosch, "The Islamic Bookbinder and the warraqun," *Abstracts of Communications of the One Hundred and Seventy-first Meeting of the American Oriental Society*, University of Pennsylvania, March 28-30, 1961, p. 4.

²G. K. Bosch, *Islamic Bookbindings: Twelfth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago, 1952 (on file at the Library of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

³P. Adam, *Der Bucheinband: seine Technik und seine Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 198, Fig. 140.

⁴D. Karabacek, "Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde IV Muhammedanische Kunststudien," *Vienna. Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXII, 1913, p. 50, Plate VI, No. 1.

⁵E. Gratzl, "Islamische Handschriftenbände der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek," pp. 115-20.

⁶R. Ettinghausen, "The Covers of the Morgan Manafi Manuscript and Other Early Persian Bookbindings," *Studies . . . for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner, Princeton University Press, 1954, p. 463, Fig. 347.

⁷M. Weisweiler, "Der Islamische Bucheinband des Mittelalters," *Beiträge zur Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, Bd. 10, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 32f.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 79-188.

⁹Bosch, *op. cit.* (note 2).

¹⁰On a Research Council grant in 1964 from Florida State University I was able to spend a semester in libraries of the Middle and Near East further verifying my conclusions.

¹¹R. Forrer, *Die Kunst des Zeugdrucks vom Mittelalter bis zur Empirezeit*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 8.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³R. Pfister, *Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan*, Paris, 1938, pp. 20, 22, 78, 84, 89-90.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Plates VI, VIII, XXXII, XXXIV.

¹⁵Weisweiler, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 162, 165.

¹⁶Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

¹⁷Gratzl, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁸Weisweiler, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

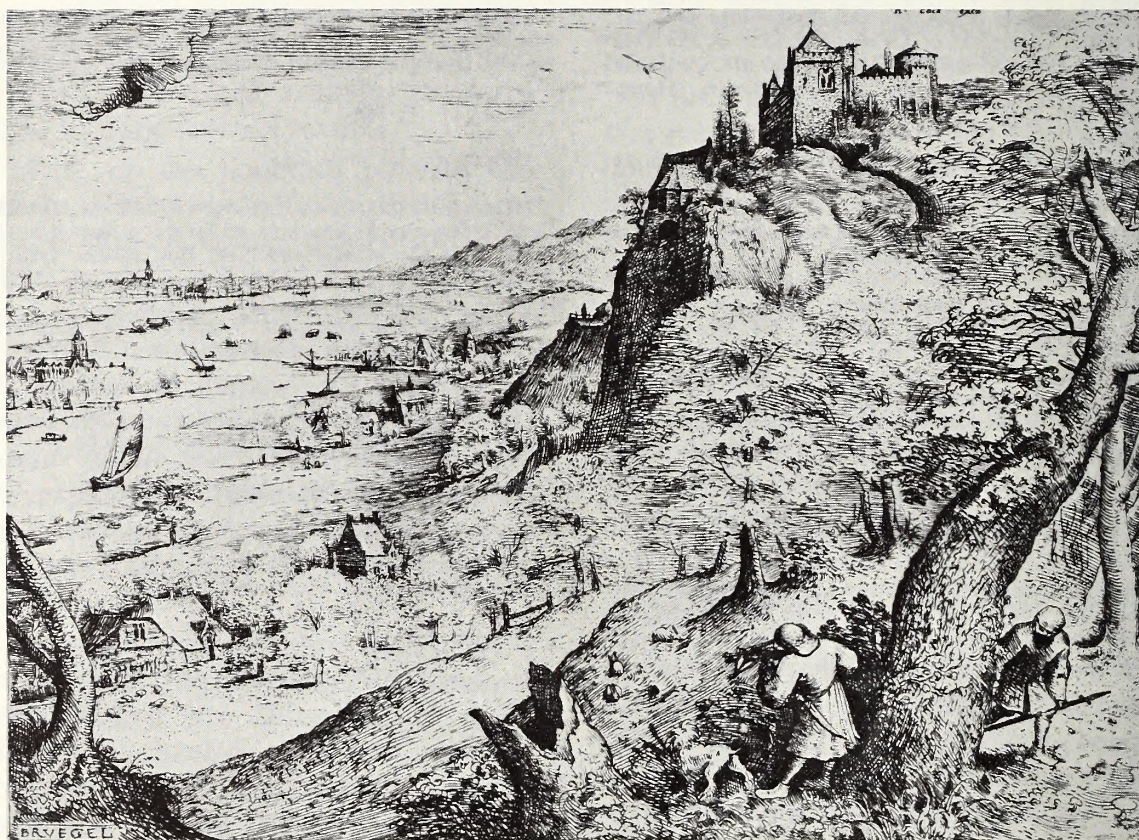


Fig. 1. Pieter Bruegel
The Rabbit Hunt (etching)

PECULIARITIES IN THE RELATION OF TEXT AND IMAGE IN TWO PRINTS

BY PETER BRUEGEL: *THE RABBIT HUNT* AND *FIDES*

It has long been recognized that the legends on Bruegel's didactic prints sometimes do not (as a simple reading of the text would indicate) merely name the subject of the print and moralize on it; they also offer an ironic comment on what is represented and establish a kind of dialogue, or a pattern of point and counterpoint, between text and image.¹ The sense of the print fully comes into its own only as a result of such an interplay. Text and image are veiled when looked at by themselves, but in the course of our participation in the "dialogue", as we muse in the light of what we see in the picture about the meaning of the text and vice-versa, the deeper meaning of each unit is revealed and the moral lesson of the print (which at first glance seemed rather self-evident if not trite) by a curious process of discovering calculated surprises, becomes new and singularly relevant.

The two prints which are discussed below are a case in point. The effect of the works is quite different when text and image have been allowed to comment upon each other. If I am right, Bruegel here uses rather drastic—though subtly hidden—means in order to bring about this transformation. The tracing of the process which leads us to comprehend or surmise the "locked-in" meaning of the prints before us may, perhaps, help us better to assess the range of Bruegel's practical deviousness in the employment of his art and to come a little closer to an understanding of his irony.

1. *The Rabbit Hunt*

This work (Fig. 1) enjoys the distinction of being the only etching in Bruegel's printed *oeuvre*. The delicacy and freedom of the execution and the autograph signature attest alike that Bruegel made his design directly on the plate.² There is a carefully spared out space at the bottom of the picture for the addition of a legend but the legend, which it would have been the job of a letter engraver to supply, was never put there. Only a few prints of the plate exist.³ The print is dated 1566 and is among Bruegel's late works.⁴ The legend may, perhaps, not have been added because the plate, without the indication of a text, was found among Bruegel's effects after his death.

If we look at the print without the benefit of a legend, we see, of course, the obvious: a peaceful and beautiful landscape without any remarkable action. The whole world, from the near countryside with the picturesque ancient castle on top of the hill to the prosperous city in the far background seems to be at peace. In the foreground are two men, both armed and facing in opposite directions. One of them is accompanied by a dog and points his cross-bow in the direction of what on closer inspection turns out to be two rabbits in the grass.⁵ The motif has the obvious purpose of leading us into the picture and is so represented that it strikes the eye as a simple and relaxing bit of foreground animation, an engaging aspect of the life of the landscape. The representation of

the landscape is so successful that the purpose of the work is naturally considered that of a pure landscape painting.⁶ Reproductions usually suppress the small margin at the bottom of the print which was supposed to have received the inscription; its emptiness only disturbs the completeness of the picture.

If, however, one has grown accustomed to receiving aid from Bruegel's inscriptions in the contemplation of his work, one begins to wonder whether there is not in the picture a clue that might help us to reconstruct a likely inscription. I believe such a clue exists and is given to us in the person of the hunter and his two rabbits. The proverb literature of the Renaissance is rather richly endowed with the figure of a rabbit hunter who is in the vexing position of having presented to his aim not one but two rabbits. This is a tricky abundance of opportunities which will undo his luck altogether if he will foolishly insist on taking advantage of them all at the same time: *Duos Insequens Lepores Neutrum Capit*,⁷ *Chi due lepri caccia una perde e l'altra lascia*,⁸ *Poursius deux lièvres et lesmanques*,⁹ or, as Florio translates the Italian, "who hunteth two hares loseth the one and leaveth the other."¹⁰ Erasmus of Rotterdam, from whose *Adagia* I have taken the Latin quotation above also goes on to offer us a perhaps redundant moralization of the adage: *Hujus proverbii sensus est qui simul duplex captat commodum utroque frustratur*.¹¹ That it is very likely that Bruegel had this proverb in mind may be gathered from the fact that the two rabbits before the hunter's aim are coyly posed in opposite directions. To shoot one of them it is clearly necessary to aim the



Fig. 2. *Hunting Two Hares*
Illustration for Sebastian Brant,
Das Narrenschiff Basel, 1494

arrow a little ahead of the animal in its anticipated course. If, instead, the hunter will shoot at the rabbit nearer to him in the hope of so striking both animals with one arrow, he will, of course, catch neither. The dog by his side, in any case, will bark and chase away the rabbits if the hunter will take much longer to figure out his little puzzle.

There also exists, in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, or *Ship of Fools*, an agreeable pictorial precedent for Bruegel's representation (Fig. 2).¹² Brant shows us the fool and his dog already embarked upon their futile enterprise. The dog eagerly runs after the fleeing rabbit on the right, but with greedy ambition at the

same time turns his head towards the fleeing one on the left. This, in turn, makes the rabbit on the right (who turned *his* face as if to see if everything had worked out according to plan) smile with a kind of appreciation. The whole thing has the appearance of a rabbits' plot to fool the fool. Brant accompanies the print with the following explanation:

Der vocht zwen hasen uff ein mol
Wer meynt zweyn herren dienen wol
Un richten usz mer dann er sol¹³

Two hares at once would he waylay
Who'd serve two masters well foray
Performing more than one man
may.¹⁴

The entry is entitled *von dienst zweyer herren* (On Serving Two Masters) and begins as follows:

Der is eyne narr der understot
Der welt zu dienen, und ouch got
Dann wo zwen herren hat eyne Knecht
Der mag jn nyemer dienen recht
Gar oft verdürbt eyne hantwercks-
man

Der vil gewaerb und hantwerck kan
Wer jagen will, und uff eyne stund
Zwen hasen vohem, mit eyne hund
Dem wurd ettwan kum eyner wol
Gar dick würt jm gantz nut zumol
We schiessen uss vil armbrust will
Der trifft kum ettwan wol das zil

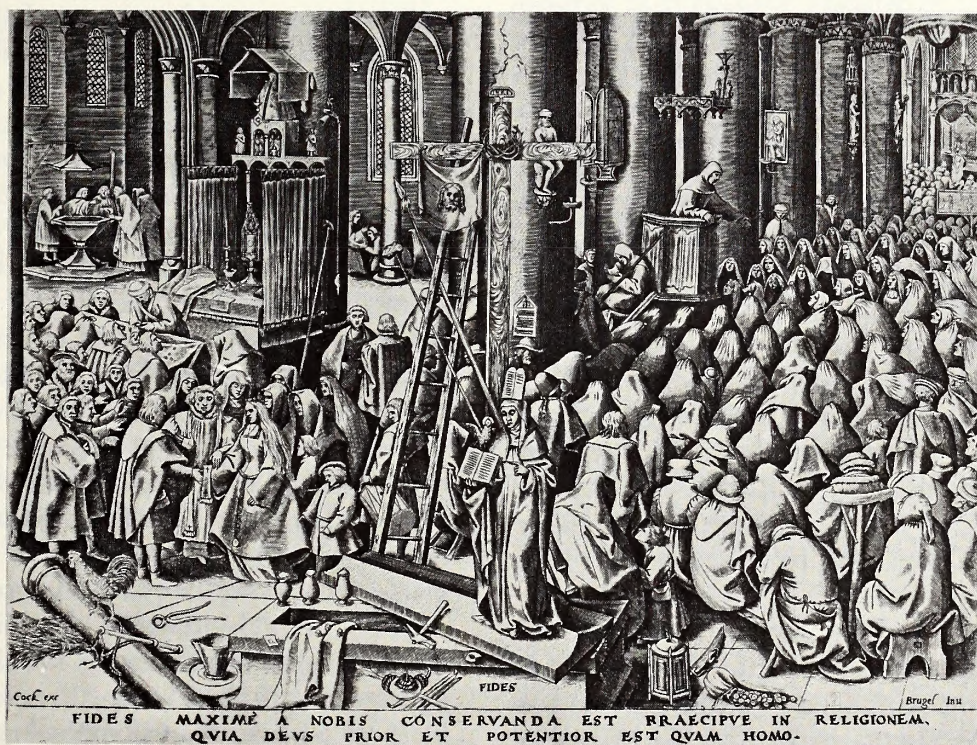


Fig. 3. Pieter Bruegel
Fides (engraving)

Wer uff sich selbst vil aempter nymbt
Der mag nit tun da yedem zymbt . . .
etc.¹⁵

Fool he who thinks he can afford
To serve both world and eke the
Lord,

For where two masters one must
serve

No one gets all he would deserve.
Who'er to many trades would run
Will master ne'er a single one.

The hunter who with single hound
Would catch two hares as off they
bound

Will very often lose them both
And may return annoyed and wroth;
The man who shoots with many a
bow,

His arrows past all targets go.

The man whose posts are too diverse
Will often do what all men curse . . .
etc.¹⁶

Let us now go on assuming, for the sake of the argument, that the legend on Bruegel's print actually bears the inscription *Duos Insequens Lepores Neutrum Capit* or something to that effect. The result, of course, would be that the figures in the foreground are accented and that the vast landscape before us which combines the old and the new, the country and the town, the mountains, the valley, and, in the background, perhaps the ocean also, becomes, as it were, *moralisé*. All over in this world the proverb holds true. At first it seems almost a shame, the proverb is so trite and the landscape, undisturbed by didactic noises, so beautiful. But the situation changes and an element of surprise (which is almost inevitably the principal means used by Bruegel to bring his irony into full play) enters into our contempla-

tion when we come to consider the action of the second man in the right foreground of the picture. We were so much concerned with the hunter (assuming that, to begin with, we had the legend of the picture to guide us) that we forgot he was, as it were, still lurking in the wings. Certainly the rabbit hunter and his dog, all bent on their chase, are unaware of his presence or indifferent to it. Is he really just another hunter walking? He bears a spear, his cap or helmet is set at a rakish angle so that one of his eyes is almost completely covered by it; his approach is stealthy and there is something altogether sinister about his appearance.¹⁷ In short, there is at least the possibility that he is not an ordinary hunter but a hunter of men, a marauding soldier perhaps, and that he will just now quickly move and strike the complacent and unsuspecting rabbit hunter, who is absorbed in his little problem of choosing between two rabbits, in his carelessly exposed back. *Duos Insequens Lepores Neutrum Capit*; yes, but in another dimension altogether than the little proverb would indicate without the comment of the picture. Our hunter will not catch his quarry because he himself is the quarry of another.¹⁸ When we thought, as we began looking at the print, that the world in the picture was at peace we acted no differently than the fool whose foolishness we were so indulgently smiling at. Now, however, the bitterness of the joke is upon us. As we see, with the immediacy of one who is himself surprised, the danger which threatens the rabbit hunter we also comprehend—or have it recalled to us at a moment of complacency—that the world, however cozy it may seem in the pursuit and unraveling of its small

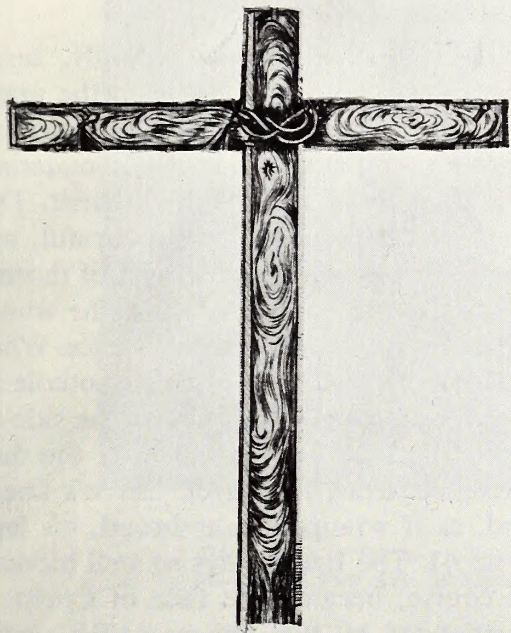


Fig. 4. Detail of Fig. 3

concerns (a part of which is looking at pretty pictures in prints—or showing lantern slides), is never at peace, and that the hunter will forever be the hunted.

The moral behind the moralization, in other words, is the same that we find in a number of other of Bruegel's prints. It is most noteworthy, perhaps, in "Big Fish Eat Little Fish"¹⁹ and, on a great scale, in paintings like "The Misanthrope" or "The Thief of Birdsnests."²⁰ The world is foolish and evil, and he who wants to patch it up with Polonius' little proverbs or, mouthing platitudes, rejects it, is no better. Each culprit pays his penalty as he becomes a victim of devices very much like the ones he employs to catch or berate those smaller or dumber than himself. Only the iron-

ist knows how unnecessary, inevitable and curiously fitting it all is. As we grasp his joke we join him, even if our comprehension may but last for a moment, in the loneliness of a sublime pessimism which is founded as much upon the love of justice as on an uncompromisingly accurate observation of nature.²¹

2. *Fides*

Since the subject of this print (Fig. 3) is the pre-presentation of the Christian faith it promises to be particularly revealing about the relation between Bruegel's religion and his ironic temper. The print has therefore repeatedly been the subject of earnest and painstakingly learned study.²² It is perhaps because of the high-minded hopefulness of this concern that a little practical joke built into the print and carefully veiled by Bruegel has so far remained undiscussed and, perhaps, undiscovered by writers on the subject.

The center foreground of the engraving, like that of all the other prints in Bruegel's series of the Virtues and Vices to which it belongs, is taken up by an allegorical representation. We see before us Faith, surrounded by her attributes which include all the instruments and other objects pertaining to the passion of Christ such as they are familiar to us from representations of the Mass of St. Gregory.

The figure stands inside a church filled with people busily engaged in the pursuit of religious exercises and the celebration of the sacraments. At first glance it appears that the activity in the church is but a translation into the language of practical experience of what the allegory stands for.

The print, in other words, is read on two levels. The faithful act out in practice what the figure represents symbolically. The legend which, according to a suggestion made by Grossmann,²³ may have been provided by a friend of Bruegel's, the poet and moralist D. V. Coornhert, at first only confirms this notion: *FIDES MAXIME NOBIS CONSERVANDA EST PRAECIPUE IN RELIGIONEM, QUIA DEUS PRIOR ET POTENTIOT EST QUAM HOMO*. "Above all we must keep faith, and especially in religion, for God comes before and is mightier than man."

It has been pointed out repeatedly, however, that all is not well in this church so well filled with worshippers.²⁴ A number of them are so remarkably ugly and look so curiously silly in their hooded anonymity—and seem to be so indifferent to the presence of Faith in their midst that one may conclude that Bruegel, far from wishing to celebrate the usual practice of public worship, meant to chastise it.²⁵ The purpose of the print in that case would be to make us conscious of the conflict between the service of mere conventions in church and the true service of God and the lesson of the inscription to warn us *not* to act like the worshippers in the church who put man before God, but to keep the faith, etc.

I quite agree with this interpretation but I do not think it goes far enough. Just as the moral of the story of the rabbit hunter smacked of the platitudinous when we read the reconstructed legend merely according to the letter of the text so is the silliness of the hypocritical worshippers somewhat gratuitous. In short, the irony of the print, when it is seen at this stage of condescending mirth, seems to reflect

a pessimism which is, perhaps, too shallow for Bruegel.

The situation changes rapidly, however, when we discover that in the grain of the cross directly behind Faith, the engraver has hidden a somewhat dematerialized likeness of the crucified Christ. The head of Christ, singularly mournful, appears directly above the crown of thorns, and once one has identified it the whole figure begins to come into existence. What on first sight we took to be a knothole in the wood now is the wound in the side of Christ and we also can identify the outstretched arms, the navel, Christ's knees and, as if wrapped in a shroud, his legs (Fig. 4). The figure stays so well hidden, of course, because the face of Christ is surrounded by two images which represent the likeness of Christ quite realistically, the one on the kerchief of St. Veronica which is suspended from the cross and the other in the form of the little statue of Christ as the Man of Sorrows which is attached to the pillar directly behind the cross.

Once the hidden figure is discovered our surprise may lead us to comprehend that when we were amused by the people in the church because we saw how gullible and selfish they were, we were not really much better than they. We too, in the midst of all the religious paraphernalia ignored the presence of Christ. If we now read the legend of the print once more it becomes a commentary on our new experience. God (whom we overlooked because we were laughing at the people in the church) comes indeed before man and is mightier than he.²⁶ The true moral of the print (as well as the development of the succession of surprise and enlightenment)



Fig. 4a. Pieter Bruegel
The Sermon of St. John the Baptist
 Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

would seem to be the same we are offered with a fittingly greater earnestness, in Bruegel's painting "St. John Preaching." (Fig. 4a).²⁷ There too at first we see a great many indifferent attendants and scoffers. John is almost lost in the crowd which surrounds him. Our true enlightenment only dawns upon us when we discover that Christ himself is in attendance and that we have overlooked him even though St. John is pointing to him. Charles De Tolnay suggested convincingly that the words John is now pronouncing must be "I baptize with water: but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not; He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (John I: 26-27).²⁸ Only after we have discovered Christ can we hear these words and understand, in the light of our own experience in front of the picture,

what it means to have God within the range of one's sight and see Him not because we are preoccupied with man.

Bruegel's drawing for his *Fides* is preserved in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.²⁹ The drawing, unlike the print, which matches it in almost all other details, does not show the figure of Christ on the cross. The pattern of the grain of the wood is quite normal and there are three nails (instead of the two in the engraving) driven into the wood of the cross. The third nail is the one which transfixed the feet of Christ; it was evidently suppressed in the engraving so as not to conflict with the "reality" of the hidden image of Christ on the cross. We now must ask ourselves whether the introduction of the hidden figure was, indeed, Bruegel's work (or done at his bidding) or the result of interference, either by the publisher or a



Fig. 5. Pieter Bruegel
Fides (detail of drawing)
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

prankishly inclined engraver. The problem can be resolved, I think, by a consideration of one other difference between the drawing and the engraving. It was first noticed by De Tolnay that in the drawing the crown of thorns on the cross is shown as having burst forth into bloom (Fig. 5).³⁰ This is an altogether unique icono-

graphic element and appears to have been invented by Bruegel for the occasion. The function of the device seems to be (just like that of the hidden figure in the engraving) at first to deceive the spectator who will identify it—because he so expects to find it on the cross—as nothing but the customary crown of thorns.³¹ Only the careful observer will witness, as if it were a kind of miracle, the transformation of the dead crown of thorns into a living form. The progress of the attentive viewer's enlightenment, in other words, is the same as in the print. In the print, however, the final effect is more dramatic and more significantly comprehensible than the symbolism of the flowering crown of thorns. There is something gratingly extravagant, of course, in the linking of the trick picture with the sanctity of the subject it represents, but enlightenment through irony always makes its way on a course of disenchantment. The transition, in the case of this print, from model drawing to the finished engraving is, I think, to the advantage of moralization. Exactly because the irony of the print is more drastic, the sublime there may rise more gloriously from the confinement of the ridiculous which makes up the world we know.

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NOTES

¹Cf. especially Charles De Tolnay, *Die Zeichnungen Peter Bruegels*, Munich, 1924, pp. 14-23; Carl Gustaf Stridbeck, *Bruegelstudien: Untersuchungen zu den ikonologischen Problemen bei Pieter Bruegel d. Ae., sowie dessen Beziehungen zum niederlaendischen Romanismus*, Stockholm, 1956, pp. 42-170; Fritz Grossmann, *Pieter Bruegel: The Paintings*, London, 1966, pp. 33-40; Irving L. Zupnick, "Bruegel and the Revolt of the Netherlands," *Art Journal*, 1964, pp. 283-89, and the same author's "Meaning of Bruegel's nobody and everyman", *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1966, pp. 257-70. Note also Zupnick's paper "A Paradoxical Interpretation of Bruegel's 'Seven Virtues'," summarized in *Abstracts of Papers Delivered in Art History Sessions, Annual Meeting, College Art Association of America, 1969* (General Session III).

²René van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel L'Ancien*, Brussels, 1908, p. 31.

³Cf. H. Arthur Klein, *The Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel the Elder*, New York, 1963, p. 48 and "Oltrediciotto milioni per una stampa di Brueghel," *Domus*, May 1964, p. 56.

⁴The date, barely visible, is inscribed on the plate, directly following Bruegel's signature in the lower left-hand corner of the work. Cf. van Bastelaer, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Bruegel died in 1569. A drawing of the work in reverse was recently published as being on the art market. It is signed and dated 1560, but neither the quality of the work nor the character of the signature convince me that it is autograph.

⁵Not three, as Klein counts (*op. cit.*, p. 47). His "third rabbit" is only a rock.

⁶"Par des traits magnifiques, encore que quelques interventions au burin soient moins expertes, par des valeurs lumineuses, et des touches delicates, l'artiste évoque un paysage immense à l'avant-plan duquel la scene de chasse n'apparait que mediocrement episodique, mais pourvue d'un charme pittoresque incontestable." Jacques Lavalleye, *Lucas van Leyden, Peter Bruegel L'Ancien: Gravures*, Paris, 1966, p. v.

⁷Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia in D. Erasmi Opera Omnia*, ed. Joannes Clericus, Leyden, 1703-6, vol. 2, column 790 A, Proverb 3336.

⁸John Florio, *Florio his firste Fruites; which yeelde familiar speech, merrie Proverbs, wittie Sentences and golden Sayings*, London, 1578, folio 28.

⁹E. C. Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, London 1909, p. 638.

¹⁰Florio, *loc. cit.* For additional material of the kind cf. Burton Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases*, New York, 1948, p. 1076, and Ida von Reinsberg Dueringsfeld, *Sprichwoerter der Germanischen und Romanischen Sprachen vergleichend dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1872, vol. pp. 431-2.

¹¹"The meaning of this proverb is that he who at the same time reaches out for a double advantage will be doubly disappointed." Cf. note 7, *supra*, for the location of the passage.

¹²On the author of the design cf. Friedrich Winkler, *Duerer und die Illustrationen zum Narrenschiff*, Berlin, 1951, p. 41.

¹³Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff*, ed. Friedrich Zarncke, Leipzig, 1854, p. 21 (18). Brant's purpose evidently is to elaborate on Matthew 6:24, "No man can serve two masters." Later editions of the *Narrenschiff* on occasion show the fool hunting one rabbit but drinking from a bottle at the same time and so losing his rabbit. This again may be a heavy-handed reference to the continuation of the Gospel text. "Therefore I say unto you 'Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the Body than raiment?'" (Matt. 6:25).

¹⁴Edwin H. Zeydel, tr., *The Ship of Fools by Sebastian Brant, Translated into Rhyming Couplets with Introduction and Commentary*, New York, 1944, p. 102.

¹⁵Brant, ed. Zarncke, pp. 102-3.

¹⁶Zeydel, pp. 102-3.

¹⁷In the man's path, and only there, grow some possibly poisonous mushrooms. Once we begin to suspect the man's intentions the mushrooms, of course, also become suggestive of the working of evil.

¹⁸The proverb literature abounds with elaborations and variations on the theme of the "the hunter hunted." For examples cf. Erasmus, *op. cit.*, vol. II column 372, proverbs 1113-16, and the entry "Retribution" in Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1965-72, especially section II, "Hoist with his own Petard." Professor Harold N. Cooledge very kindly informed me that the late Erwin Panofsky once alluded in a seminar to the connection

in sixteenth-century Northern art between this motif and that of "chasing a pair of small animals or birds (e.g. rabbits or larks". Unfortunately I was not able to identify the examples used by Panofsky, but I found the news itself encouraging.

¹⁹Bastelaer, *op. cit.*, p. 139. The moral of this work (if not the source of its inspiration) is, perhaps, best indicated by a passage in Erasmus' *The Religious Treat*, which occurs in the description of a painting in the house of the host: "Upon the Banks and Shores you see several amphibious Creatures, as Crabs, Seals, Beavers. Here is a Polypus, a Catcher catch'd by an Oyster! 'What does he say? (literally: taking, I am taken), The Taker taken.'" (Desiderius Erasmus, *All the Familiar Colloquies*, tr. N. Bailey, London 1725, p. 104.) The possible relevance of this source has perhaps been disregarded by Bruegel scholars because the engraving bears an inscription which suggests that the "invention" of the work is by Hieronymus Bosch. It has been pointed out by Otto Kurz, however, that this is only a publisher's trick, perpetrated in order to attract attention to the work. (Otto Kurz, *Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students*, New Haven, 1948, p. 108.)

²⁰Grossmann, *op. cit.*, plates 146 and pp. 141-44. The ironical elements of these works are described on pp. 202-3.

²¹I hope I shall be forgiven if I here draw attention to a reasonably parallel but cheerful sequence of enlightening surprises involving a rabbit which occurs in a modern German poem. I am confident that Clemens Sommer knew the poem well and therefore take the liberty of including it here: "Ein Hase sitzt auf einer Wiese/Des Glaubens niemand saehe diese// Doch im Besitze eines Zeisses/ Betrachtet voll gehalten Fleisses// Vom vis à vis gelegnen Berg/ Ein Mensch den kleinen Loeffelzwerg// Ihn aber blickt hinwiederum/ Ein Gott von fern an, mild und stumm.//" [Christian Morgenstern, "Vice Versa," *Gesammelte Werke*, Munich, 1965, p. 280.] (A Rabbit sat upon the grass/ And thought one knew not where he was.// But with a telescope by Zeiss/ A man quite eagerly inspects the little prize.// And he in turn regarded is/ By God Himself who keeps His peace.)

²²Most impressively so by Stridbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-142 and *idem*, "Bruegels Fidesdarstellung: Ein Dokument seiner religiösen Gesinnung," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* XXIII (1954), pp. 1-11. See also Charles De Tolnay, *Zeichnungen*, p. 27-28; *idem*, *The Drawings of Peter Bruegel the Elder*, London, 1952, no. 57, and I. Zupnick, "Bruegel and the Revolt of the Netherlands," p. 284.

²³Fritz Grossmann in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. II., New York, 1960, col. 647. See also Stridbeck, *Bruegelstudien*, pp. 142-3.

²⁴First decisively by De Tolnay, *Zeichnungen*, pp. 27-28. Later discussions, including the one presented here, are all indebted to this work.

²⁵I may add two elements of ironic comment which, I believe, have so far remained unrecorded: (1) There is only *one* person in the whole church who pays attention to the instruments of the martyrdom of Christ which surround *Fides*. He stands in the extreme left of the picture, directly by the bridal couple who are exchanging their vows, and looks towards the cock, i.e. the symbol of Peter's lack of fidelity when he denied Christ. (2) That all is not well in the church is suggested also by the fact that a large crack runs through the pillar directly behind the cross.

²⁶We may here also be reminded of the definition of Faith given in Hebrews 11.1: "Est autem fides sperandum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium." ("Now Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.") The sense of the print seems to be quite in keeping with Erasmus' admonition in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*:

"I approve what you do if only the end is valid, if you are not content to stop at a place you should be treating as a stepping stone to something more important to spiritual health. But to worship Christ in visible ceremonies and for the sake of material considerations, and to pin the value of religion upon these ceremonies, to be smug about oneself for this reason and to damn everybody else, to become obsessed by these things and even to linger in them and—to put it briefly—be diverted from Christ by those very practices he intended to lead us to Him—this is surely a departure from the law of the Gospel, which is spiritual, and a reduction to a kind of Judaism perhaps no less perilous than having to contend, minus this superstition, with powerful and manifest vices of the mind." [*The Enchiridion of Erasmus*, tr. Raymond Himelick, Bloomington, 1963, pp. 114-15.] See also *ibid.*, pp. 85-6, 112-13, etc. Note also Erasmus' *An Enquiry concerning Faith*: "Aulus: 'But why do you stick to say, I believe in the holy Church?' Barbatus: 'Because St. Cyprian has taught me, that we must believe in God alone, in whom we absolutely put all our Confidence. Whereas the Church, properly so call'd, although it consists of none, but good Men; yet it consists of Men, who of good may become bad, who may be deceiv'd, and deceive others.'" [*All the Familiar Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus*, p. 225.] That Bruegel and, presumably Coornhert, were, indeed, influenced by Erasmus' *Enchiridion* is suggested by the similarities between Bruegel's engraving of "Fortitudo" and the following passage: "It is strange to see how confidently they (the general run of men) sleep—now on the one side, now on the other—while we are being assaulted without letup by such ironshod hordes of vices, ambushed by so many stratagems, beset by so many snares! Just look about you: the vilest demons sleeplessly watch for your ruin, and they are equipped with

a thousand tricks and devices for doing us harm. From aloft they strive to wound our souls with fiery and leadly missiles, steeped in venom and every bit as menacing as even the dart of a Hercules or a Cephalus unless they are intercepted by the impenetrable shield of faith." [Enchiridion, p. 38.]

²⁷Grossman, *op. cit.*, p. 201; plates 122-24.

²⁸Charles De Tolnay, *Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien*, Brussels, 1935, pp. 42-3.

²⁹Ludwig Muenz, *Bruegel: The Drawings*, London, 1961, p. 228, no. 142.

³⁰De Tolnay, *Zeichnungen*, p. 28. See also *idem*, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel The Elder*, London, 1952, no. 57.

³¹In the drawing, as well as in the engraving, the figure of the Man of Sorrows on the pillar behind the cross is not shown, as one would expect, with a crown of thorns, but rather with a bandage in its place. Bruegel may have done this in order to suppress the contrast which would have shown up the crown of thorns in bloom too readily. The crack in the pillar, incidentally, is enlarged in the engraving. The candle in front of the Man of Sorrows, on the other hand, is shown tall in the drawing but almost, if not altogether, burnt out in the print.



Fig. 1. Quentin Massys
Salvator Mundi
NCMA, Kress Collection

QUENTIN MASSYS' *SALVATOR MUNDI*

There is little that an academic paper can say about the warmth, humanity, and teaching abilities of a man. This essay, limited to only a few suggestions concerning the iconography of Quentin Massys' *Salvator Mundi*, is but one small attempt to honor the memory of a man in whom all of the above qualities were admirably manifest—Dr. Clemens Sommer.

In the most general terms we may say that *Andachtsbilder*, types of devotional images, were among the most popular of late 14th and 15th century panel paintings. The *Salvator Mundi* falls within the class of *Andachtsbilder* as an aspect of *Christus triumphans*: a view of the resurrected Christ/Man which is contrasted to the *Christus patiens*—Man of Sorrows theme. This latter motif presents God Incarnate patiently suffering the pains of His mortal flesh in contrast to His victory over death as Savior—*Christus triumphans* and *Salvator Mundi*.¹

Although there are Italian examples of the *Salvator Mundi* theme, the earliest and fullest exploitation of the motif occurs in the North of Europe. The *Salvator Mundi* attributed to Quentin Massys, in the collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art² presents this iconographic theme as it blossoms at the end of the 15th century (Fig. 1).

Massys' *Salvator Mundi* clearly fits into the framework of the development of this theme.³ However, our artist has added innovations which expand the scope of the theme and enlarge upon its meaning.

The iconic type, in the North, appears to derive most clearly from the Christ in the "Deesis" of Rogier van der Weyden's "Braque Triptych" (Fig. 2).⁴ Developing in part from this prototype, but relating more closely to Massys, is Memling's "Christ Surrounded by Singing Angels" (Fig. 3), now the Koninklijk Museum in Antwerp.⁵ Massys has combined Rogier's half-length Christ in a landscape setting, plainly dressed and holding a small orb, with Memling's royally garbed, heavenly placed Christ who holds a large crystal sphere surmounted by a scepter-like cross. Thus Massys' work appears to be essentially eclectic. But the artist has added elements which develop the iconography more explicitly than and different from his predecessors.

By placing the figure of Christ in a setting of clouds (a motif present in the aforementioned Memling), while having the crystal orb reflect a cityscape (a motif which will be discussed more fully below), Massys has extended the meaning of this theme. Further, the meaning is emphasized by the morse at Christ's neck. Here we see an elaborate clasp, jeweled with pearls and amethysts. The precious stones flank a depiction of Moses, seated within an ornate Gothic tabernacle, holding the tablets of the Law. The amethysts refer to the royalty of Christ as well as alluding to His blood,⁶ the eucharistic element which is a sign of the New Covenant. Pearls are symbolic of the purity and divinity of Christ's origin.⁷ Within this set-



Fig. 2. Rogier van der Weyden
Braque Triptych, Central Panel
The Louvre, Paris



Fig. 3. Hans Memling
Christ Surrounded by Singing Angels
Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp

ting Moses' Old Law has been replaced by the New: a juxtaposition in which Christ as *Salvator Mundi* supersedes Mosaic law as the means to salvation.

Massys' use of a cityscape reflection in the crystal orb is probably the most challenging and striking of his innovations in this panel. Not only has the artist "Indulged the current interest in realism,"⁸ but also indulged the current interest in iconographic allusions. The simplest and most direct interpretation of the cityscape with its surrounding clouds (reflected and actual) would be as a representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Certainly the *Salvator Mundi* would present to the spectator a view of the reward of salvation—an image of the heavenly abode. However, the sphere which reflects the image is most unusual. Whereas all other representations of the *Salvator Mundi* with a crystal orb (to the best of my knowledge) show the orb as a perfect, unblemished crystal sphere, Massys has chosen to depict it with a seam! Approximately one-third of the way in from the left edge of the orb, starting just below the index finger of Christ's left hand, the seam is clearly discernable.⁹ Thus the sphere, symbol of Christ's authority and power, as well as "container" of the image of the heavenly city, is shown as a man-made object—the earthly globe. Amplifying upon this observation is the reflected city itself. It contains neither churches nor

church spires, but rather, ordinary 16th century Netherlandish houses and what appears to be a castle-fortress. It would thus appear that the treatment of the sphere, as well as the type of city-cityscape, preclude the probability of an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁰ We must, therefore, return to the representation of the city as a manifestation of Massys' interest in realism for its own sake. And in that case, Massys' vision is unique.

Other representations of the orb show it either as an opaque sphere reflecting only a light source,¹¹ or when transparent, reflecting some sort of landscape.¹² Considering the specific qualities of the cityscape in question, and the meticulously realistic care with which Massys painted even the seam of the orb, it is highly unlikely that the buildings shown are imaginary. Although no positive identification is possible at this time, we can only logically conclude that the artist had specifically chosen this occasion and this setting to glorify his native city of Antwerp. But even in doing this, he has succeeded in expanding the *Salvator Mundi* theme. For he has made tangible, concretized the essential meaning of the entire theme: "All power in heaven and on *earth* has been given to me."¹³

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NOTES

¹E. Panofsky, "Jean Hey's Ecce Homo," Speculation about its Author, its Donor, and its Iconography," *Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique Bulletin*, V, 1956, pp. 95ff.

²For a brief stylistic analysis, dating, and provenance, cf. *The Samuel H. Kress Collection, North Carolina Museum of Art*, Raleigh, 1960, p. 126.

³C. Gottlieb, "The Mystical Window in Paintings of the *Salvator Mundi*," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 56, 1960, pp. 313-32.

⁴This is contrary to the entry in the Kress Collection catalogue (*loc. cit.*) where the Massys is traced to the upper triptych of Jan van Eyck's "Ghent Altarpiece." The upper triptych is a "Deesis" in which the Lord is presented in his full triune nature, wearing a papal tiara, and having an iconographic significance totally different from the *Salvator Mundi*. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, 1953, I, 213ff. An earlier Northern example frequently cited as a *Salvator Mundi* is a panel of "Christ Blessing and the Virgin," attributed to the Master of Flemalle, and now in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia. However, this representation lacks the orb in Christ's left hand, one of the typical attributes of the *Salvator Mundi*. An interesting and valuable discussion of the sources, attributes, and types of the *Salvator Mundi* is to be found in S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, Abo, 1965, pp. 170ff. The North Carolina *Salvator Mundi* is not mentioned by Ringbom.

⁵The Memling panel, as has been pointed out by Baldass (*Memling*, Vienna, 1942, p. 45), is indebted to van Eyck's "Ghent Altarpiece" for the regal robes, crown, and singing angels. The immediate textual source for Memling's imagery is Durandus: "Dei filius super Angelos regnans" (*Rationale*, I, iii, 6).

⁶J. Evans and M. Serjeantson, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries* (Early English Text Society, Old. Ser., 192), Oxford, 1932, p. 46; Bodleian Douce Ms. 291, English, early 15th century.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 117; Peterborough Cathedral Ms. 33, English, late 15th century.

⁸Kress Collection catalogue, p. 126.

⁹Professor Robert Koch has noted that not one but seven seams are discernable in the orb. He has suggested that these might be allusions to meridian lines, indicative of the maritime interests of the Lowlands at this time. If this were so, it would re-enforce interpretation of the orb as a man-made object. It is interesting to note that the earliest "modern" globes were made by Martin Behaim of Nuremberg in 1492. But I have not been able to ascertain whether these had anything resembling meridian lines.

¹⁰We should be extremely cautious, however, before completely discarding this alternative. It would not be beyond possibility that Massys' deliberate depiction of the Heavenly Kingdom in this manner was a reflection of the chiliastic and messianic beliefs so prevalent in the Lowlands at this time. These beliefs would find visual manifestation in a depiction of the Heavenly Kingdom as man-made, here and now, on this earth; the third and final stage of the world having been brought about by man, through the inspiration of God's new prophets on earth. In this context, the depiction of Moses and the tablets on Christ's morse would refer directly to the Old Testament, the scriptural source of much late 15th and early 16th century chiliastic thinking. (Cf. N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, New York, 1957). The manner in which the Gothic (New Law) Tabernacle is shown to encompass Moses (Old Law) lends greater credence to this idea. Obviously this extreme, but rather tempting interpretation demands far greater documentation than the scope of this paper allows.

¹¹For the significance of the reflected light source, see C. Gottlieb, *op. cit.* It is interesting that Gottlieb indicates no familiarity with the North Carolina *Salvator Mundi*, which in any case does not fit into her treatment of the theme.

¹²A "Salvator Mundi" by Joos van Cleve, now in the Louvre (Ill., Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 321, fig. 7), shows a mountainous landscape and ocean within the orb; the "Salvator Mundi in Landscape," attributed to the Master of the Mansi Magdalene and now in the Johnson Collection (Ill., Catalogue, *Johnson Collection*, Phila., 1953, p. 119) holds an orb containing an image of a mountainous landscape with a castle. An illumination of the "Salvator Mundi" in a late 15th century Flemish Book of Hours (Oxford, Bodleian Douce Ms. 112; 111., Ringbom, *loc. cit.*, fig. 141) depicts the Savior holding a crystal orb containing a terrestrial

map. The only painting I know of, other than Massys', which shows the crystal orb reflecting a city, is one dating later than Massys', by Ludger Tom Ring, the Younger. His "Christ Blessing, Surrounded by the Donor and His Family," now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Ill., *Metropolitan Museum Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, p. 230), shows Christ in an interior resting the orb on a table strewn with flowers. The cityscape reflected in the orb is replete with many

towering spires, and inasmuch as there are no reflections of any of the surroundings, not even the adjacent flowers on the table, this cityscape cannot be construed as a reflection of an actual city, but must be seen as an imaginary, Heavenly Jerusalem.

¹³Matt. 28:18.



Fig. 1. Attributed to Adriaen Isenbrandt
Madonna Enthroned
Ackland Art Center, Chapel Hill

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD ATTRIBUTED TO ISENBRANDT IN THE ACKLAND ART CENTER

A small painting on panel representing an enthroned Virgin and Child which is one of the first known works of the Flemish painter Adriaen Isenbrandt¹ has recently been acquired by the Ackland Art Center of the University of North Carolina. (Fig. 1).

The principal figures are enthroned in a loggia. The Virgin has in her left hand a finch, symbolic of protection against illness,² which she holds close to the Christ Child like a talisman. The Child, supported by her right hand, reaches upward as if to embrace her, His head turned back toward the left. They sit on a throne under an elaborate flamboyant Gothic canopy "in the Antwerp manner", before a landscape seen through a round arch which rests on a Renaissance baluster decorated with medallions and scrolls. The throne is situated on several platforms which stand on a tiled floor, and its semi-circular, waist-high back supports three columns which in turn support the baldachin. On a table at the right is a plate of fruit including a large bunch of green grapes.³ The landscape consists of a central clump of trees with gently rolling hills at left and a view at right of a town with a tower and a city gate. A man advances along a road which connects this middle plane of the landscape with the foreground. He is presumably St. Joseph.⁴

The painting came recently from the Spanish private collection of Srta. Maria Teresa Salazar of Ciudad de Vitoria.⁵ Its condition is excellent, with little over-painting except in the blue-green robe of

the Virgin at center, where a very dark glaze obscures the details, as is often the case in the paintings of Isenbrandt.

Closely related is Isenbrandt's "Virgin and Child Enthroned" in the Museum Boymans van Beuningen in Rotterdam,⁶ where the Virgin and Child are seated under a canopy and are seen through a round arched framing before a similar landscape with a large central clump of trees, a town and other buildings (Fig. 2). The feathery tree on the horizon at left is much like those silhouetted against the sky in the Ackland panel. The Virgin wears a similar veil, but her head is proportionately much larger, and she holds the Child with both hands, on her left knee and in a slightly different position. Her small chin and heavy lids are, however, the same, and so are the Child's dot-like eyes and generally elongated proportions.

Very closely related to the Rotterdam composition is a "Madonna and Child with Cherub Musicians" in the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, where one of the cherubs extends a large bird toward the Child (Fig. 3). The throne and its upper portion are almost identical with that of the van Beuningen picture,⁷ and the landscape is similar but much more elaborate, with many buildings, terraces, a city at right and a high cliff at left. The central clump of trees is retained, and there is a well at the left, similar to one in the same area of the Rotterdam painting. Here the Virgin wears no veil, her head is smaller, and she holds the Child in the same way,

although He looks back to the right and gestures toward the bird which is proffered by a winged flutist.

All three versions have the dark blue robes and cherry red mantle frequently associated with Isenbrandt and the small chin and downcast eyes with heavy lids of the Virgin. The first two share Isenbrandt's characteristic white outlining of her diaphanous veil and red mantle. The same trees and other landscape details appear in all three, and there is much affinity in the architectural details.

In addition to these two similar compositions by Isenbrandt, there are two copies of the Ackland painting, of which the present location of neither is known. The first was in the collection of Richard von Schnitzler of Cologne, who died in 1938.⁸ It is a crude copy, reproducing nearly all the details of the original but with some simplification of the floor, the still life (where purple or black grapes are used) and the distant landscape. The Virgin is veiled; her body is compressed into a strange ovoid shape with miniscule feet, and her left hand, which is in the same position as ours, is empty. The Child looks toward rather than away from His mother but His gesture and position have not been altered. The tiny figure of St. Joseph approaches from the middle ground, this time reversed.

A second copy was sold to Stephen Hahn at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York on Oct. 19, 1955.⁹ It is the most obvious and the more competent copy, reproducing in sometimes simplified form all the details of the present panel but with an elaboration of the architecture in the background to include what appears



Fig. 2. Isenbrandt
Virgin and Child Enthroned
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

to be a moat, and the addition of a fringed edge to the tablecloth beneath the still life. The small table reproduces exactly that of the Schnitzler panel and the still life in both includes the bunch of grapes. The Virgin holds in her hand not a finch but a pear, in a manner which resembles the gesture of giving her breast to the Child. The figure of St. Joseph is missing from the background, and the tiles of the floor have been eliminated. The main figures closely resemble those of the Ackland picture except that the eyes of the Child are

downcast like those of the Virgin, and He does not turn His head quite so far to the left.

Apparently this more exact copy from the Parke-Bernet sale is the first, while the very simple Schnitzler painting, which reproduces some of the details of the last, must be the second copy—that is, a copy

made from the Hahn picture. Both, we may be sure, were made in the Isenbrandt workshop in Bruges, as was the original.

A variant Madonna composition is presented by a painting attributed to Isenbrandt in the Walker Art Gallery of Liverpool (Fig. 4).¹⁰ Unfinished in the blue of the dress, which has a light greenish cast,



Fig. 3. Isenbrandt
Madonna and Child with Cherub Musicians
Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego



Fig. 4. Isenbrandt
Madonna and Child
Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

and in the flesh tones, the painting thus does not have the dark color tones characteristic of Isenbrandt, but the form of the veil and the drapery on the right knee of the Virgin are identical to ours, as is the pose and face of the Child, with the exception that the head like the Hahn copy is turned less to the left, although the eyes are wide open and dot-like as before. Again like the Hahn picture, the Virgin holds a pear or extends her breast to the child.¹¹ There appears to be no figure of St. Joseph, although there are many people in the background, where the Massacre of the Innocents is represented.

Unlike the foregoing compositions, this one has no architectural setting and thus represents the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, situated as it is in the out-of-doors. The mother and child are seated on a grassy back in the foreground and only the upright, smooth column or tree remains to suggest the remnants of an architectural setting. The background is somewhat similar to the Ackland painting, although the central clump of trees with the road which circles it here on both sides is brought up very close to the spectator, giving a fragmentary view of the architecture at right and an elaborate overview of the rolling hills beyond, with the addition of a large body of water. The feathery trees and the silhouetted tree on the horizon are present, however, and there is a definite similarity in the Chapel Hill figure of St. Joseph to some of the figures in the background of the Walker panel. In the middle distance stands a well, as in the San Diego and Rotterdam pictures, this time with the addition of a hoisting device.

Although most of the details are the same, the manner in which the main figures are painted is quite different in the Walker painting from those of the Ackland picture, and the composition startlingly resembles a cropped, close-up detail of the center portion of the older painting. The Virgin has a corporeal quality, however, which suggests the Italinate influences found in contemporary paintings by Ambrosius Benson in Bruges and Bernaert van Orley in Brussels. Her pose has been compared to the sculptured Madonna and Child of Michelangelo in Bruges and that of the Child to Raphael's

Colonna Madonna.¹² The heads are larger in proportion to the bodies of both figures, and their roundness and firmness remind one of the Italian High Renaissance more than of purely Flemish painting. Yet the manner in which the Virgin is placed against the background of dark trees in a grove suggests the strongly felt influence of Gerard David, of whom Isenbrandt is said to be the only identifiable pupil.

As for priority of creation, therefore, Liverpool panel seems somewhat better in quality, and indications of influence from the smaller Ackland panel lead us to conclude that the Walker Gallery painting is a later creation of the artist.

A painting in the Mauritshuis in The Hague provides an opportune comparison with the latter two (Fig. 5).¹³ It is more Italianate in style, like the Walker panel and boasts an elaborate architectural throne with fully developed mannerist motifs painted in white with some lightly tinted areas, and a tiled floor in a geometric pattern similar to but simpler than that of the Ackland painting. The Virgin is heavier and sits at an angle in such a way as to reveal the contours beneath the folds of her red dress quite awkwardly, drawing back with one hand the brown-lined, green outer cloak which might have concealed the clearly delineated but awkward right leg. The area of the deep blue inner garment in the Ackland panel has darkened, as it has in the San Diego version, to such an extent that the pose is difficult to see; but in all the paintings under consideration *except* the Walker panel the turn of the body is directed to the left in a way which culminates in the pose of the Mauritshuis painting. Here,

however, it approaches an attitude of humility which differs strongly from the bravura of the Walker Virgin's pose. The head in the Mauritshuis painting is also less ethereal than in the earlier versions; now it has a Flemish rather than an Italian quality which, though heavy, has the shape and weight of a Campin Virgin rather than of an Italian Madonna. One notes a return to the Northern type of corporal reality replacing the sculptural, Italianate variety.

The Chapel Hill painting is clearly under the influence of Gerard David and the late fifteenth century in Bruges, and the two direct imitations do not advance beyond this stage. The Walker painting constitutes a middle step in the progression from the late fifteenth century style of the Ackland panel to the Flemish mannerist style of the Mauritshuis painting and later works.

Because of its closeness in style to David, the Ackland picture can be placed relatively early in Isenbrandt's career. Its originality of conception and its successful execution were apparently obvious to contemporaries and therefore it apparently was copied at least twice, with adaptations, in Isenbrandt's workshop where it must have been painted around 1515 to 1520, when the painter was still a newcomer to Bruges.¹⁴

Isenbrandt's paintings cling to the past, so that the art of late fifteenth century Flanders continues to be reflected in them for nearly fifty years. Relying on Gothic themes from earlier tradition as its basis, however, the Ackland painting combines with these Gothic motifs new ones from the Renaissance—notably a loggia with



Fig. 5. Isenbrandt
Madonna and Child
Mauritshuis, The Hague

classical medallions into which is set a flamboyant late Gothic throne in remarkable contrast.

Here also, two prominent elements from the great Flemish tradition of Madonna painting live on together, to be developed later as independent themes: the still life of fruit, which is prominently placed at

the right before the Virgin, and the landscape background itself. These two, still life and landscape, will emerge later in the century as separate and autonomous subjects for painting.

May Davis Hill
Philadelphia Museum of Art

NOTES

¹Acquisition number 65-9-1. Height 25.3, width 17.4 centimeters (10 x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches). The painting was first attributed to Isenbrandt by Professor Robert A. Koch.

²Cf. Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch* (Bollingen series, 7), Washington, D. C., Pantheon, 1946, pp. 2, 113.

³The grapes, symbolic of the Passion, are often found in paintings of the Madonna and Child by Gerard David. They held a special significance for his chosen city of Bruges, where the Feast of the Holy Blood is still an important celebration.

⁴St. Joseph is frequently shown in this way, *i. e.*, in the distance, in contemporary representations of the Rest on the Flight Into Egypt.

⁵It was exhibited in the "Exposicion sobre Vitoria y la epoca de Adriano VI" in 1959 and published in the catalogue of that exhibition, which appeared in the *Boletín de la Institución Sancho el Sabio*, IV, Nos. 1-2, 1960, pp. 151-191, Cat. no. 66, Plate XXVII.

⁶Inventory no 2152. Panel, 31 x 20 cm. (12 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches).

⁷A baldachin of a similar type appears in a painting of about 1527 to 1532 by Ambrosius Benson, "Saint Anne and the Virgin" in the Prado (No. 1933), where the group of trees in the background is replaced by a part of the throne. Cited by Georges Marlier in *Ambrosius Benson et la peinture à Bruges au temps de Charles-Quint* (Damme, Editions du Musée van Maerlant, 1957), p. 279, Cat. 1A, Plate XXIII, where it is compared to the baldachins in Isenbrandt's "Virgin and Child" in the Alejandro Collection, Caracas, and to the San Diego panel.

⁸Published by Otto H. Forster in the catalogue of the Schnitzler Collection (Munich, 1931), Cat. no. 29, Plate XVI). Panel, 25 x 17.5 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches).

⁹Cat. no. 1615, the Oliver B. James Collection. Sold for M. Knoedler to Stephen Hahn and subsequently resold by Ader in Paris June 20, 1957, with the certificate of Max J. Friedländer. *World Collectors*

Annuary, IX-X, 162, no. 1650. Panel, 26.5 x 17.7 cm. (10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 inches).

¹⁰Cat. no. 1017. Panel, 36.9 x 30.7 cm. (14 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches). Kindly brought to my attention by Mr. Timothy Stevens, Keeper of Foreign Art, the Walker Art Gallery. The panel comes from the collection of William Roscoe and has formerly been attributed by that owner to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and earlier, by G. F. Waagen, to Herri met de Bles and to Mostaert.

¹¹If the breast rather than a pear is indeed intended, the gesture is ignored by the Child. He reaches toward the neck or face of His mother. Thus we have in all these panels what is perhaps a combination of two usually separate poses of the mother and child.

¹²*Foreign Schools Catalogue*. The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, published by order of the City Council, 1963, text volume, p. 91. Here it is suggested that the bare tree prefigures the Cross.

¹³Panel, 61 x 41.8 cm. (24 x 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches). Stichting Johan Maurits van Nassau.

¹⁴Isenbrandt is recorded in Bruges from 1510 until his death in 1551. As the only identifiable pupil of David, he long was credited with the authorship of almost any work by an unknown Bruges artist of the first half of the sixteenth century. Through long confusion with Jan Mostaert, the name *pseudo*-Mostaert was frequently attached to his works before he was identified nearly seventy years ago by Hulin de Loo. At that time an eighteenth century reference by Sanderus was discovered which verified van Mander's early reference to Isenbrandt as the pupil of David. *Flandria illustrata* II, The Hague, 1735, p. 154: "Adreanus Isebrandus Brugensis, Gerardi Davidis pictoris Veteraquensis discipulus fuit . . ." (Adriaen Isenbrandt of Bruges was the pupil of the old painter Gerard David), quoted from Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924-1937, XI (1933), 91. The date of Sanderus's source, a manuscript of Dionysius Harduin, was unknown to Friedländer.

This identification is acceptable on the basis of his stylistic relationship to David, although Isenbrandt had come to Bruges in 1510 as a stranger who had already received his training but was as yet childless and

therefore presumably still quite young. The chief literary sources for Isenbrandt are Eberhard von Bodenhausen, *Gerard David und seine Schule*, Munich, 1905, pp. 207-219, and Max J. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, XI (1933), 79-101. No signed or documented works

exist and only one dated work, the triptych in the Marienkirch, Lubeck, of 1518, is known. Friedländer believed that the St. Sauveru triptych in Bruges was painted in 1510 and was thus Isenbrandt's earliest work. It, too, shows decided dependence on David.



Fig. 1. Peter Paul Rubens
Charles the Bold
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

A RUBENS PORTRAIT OF *CHARLES THE BOLD*

Comparatively little has been written about a Rubens portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, so that after seeing it I thought it should be recalled to mind once again, if alone for its singular beauty (Fig. 1). It is the portrait of *Charles le Téméraire*, a work generally paired with the Vienna Museum's portrait of Maximilian I.¹ The problem of dating has not been dealt with satisfactorily, as so far there seems to be no supporting documentation, with the work dated on the basis of style alone. Rooses dated both works between 1635 and 1640, Oldenbourg *circa* 1617, Gluck before 1620, and Burchard about 1624, with the Maximilian portrait *circa* 1618 (that is, with a gap between the two portraits).² The dating in the late period, no longer generally accepted, was probably the result of associating the two paintings with the triumphal arch of Philip set up for the Triumphal Entry of Ferdinand into Antwerp in 1635, an arch whose program celebrates the alliance of Austria and Burgundy, and which contains a central panel representing the marriage of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, attended by Ferdinand I and Charles the Bold. Through this alliance the two houses united a tremendous territory, and the Order of the Golden Fleece passed through Mary of Burgundy to her husband Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor and head of the Hapsburg monarchy. The *Charles the Bold* is unfinished and is in all probability one of the paintings which remained in Rubens' studio, where it was

inventoried at the time of the artist's death; so it is possible that the painting was never used for whatever project was intended. Because of the extraordinary brilliance and boldness of color, it has been suggested that both the portraits of Charles and Maximilian were painted for a royal triumph.³

The two Vienna portraits are, of course, imaginary portraits, and in that respect they are particularly fascinating. It is well known that Rubens had in common with Titian the ability to breathe new life into a secondary source, especially in portraits, sometimes in true copies after older masters, sometimes in variants.⁴ Titian's famous twelve emperor portraits done for the Duke of Mantua after antique statues, coins and gems, were considered as marvels of energy and life by his contemporaries. So, too, the portraits of the Holy Roman Empress Isabella, or that of King Francis I of France done after a medalion. Titian never set eyes on either one of the last two rulers, but his portraits came to be *the* portraits of both figures. This feat is often paralleled by Rubens. It is manifested in his drawings of antique heads where he followed his own dictum that in copying marble statues one should not let them appear as stone. His portrait of the luckless Burgundian Duke is a very great imaginary portrait in this sense, as I hope to make clear.

There are not many extant painted portraits of Charles the Bold, the most famous one being the replica of Rogier van der Weyden's in Berlin, which prob-

ably once belonged to Margaret of Austria and was listed in her inventory of 1516.⁵ In this portrait Charles is shown as crown prince, the Count of Charolais, possibly in the year 1454 when he was twenty-one years old and had established his court at Brussels.⁶ He is shown wearing a black velvet robe, lightly holding a sword in his left hand, wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece not with a chain of flints and steels as he appears on a page of the statutes of that order in Vienna where he is represented with the first five sovereigns of the order (Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, the Emperor Maximilian I, Philip the Fair, and Charles V), but supported by a chain of simple rectangular links.⁷ He has the cropped, black, unruly hair he inherited from his mother, a somewhat broader bony face than his father, slightly compressed heavy lips, heavy dark brows, hazel eyes, the very light sign of a beard. He wears the black velvet costume particularly fashionable in the late years of the reign of Philip the Good, although we know his own liking for rich and magnificent costumes. He appears in such a rich, ermine-trimmed, brocade costume in the Rogier Colomba Altar as one of the three kings, reflecting the great reputation of the Burgundian court for rich and splendid ceremonies.

By the time Charles succeeded Philip the Good in 1467 war was inevitable, and in face of the fixed intention of his mortal enemy Louis XI of France to destroy the House of Burgundy, he was forced more and more to arms.⁸ His aim was to get hold of the territories which separated the duchy of Burgundy from the Low Countries, and he nearly succeeded. Unfortunately, at the height of his victories,

when his pride was so great that he hoped to obtain the royal title of king which his father had coveted, he was to have Frederick III, who was fearful of Charles' growing popularity, elude him at the critical moment.

Since that time Charles Duke of Burgundy, with great labour and solicitation, obtained an interview with the Emperor Frederick (who is still living) and spent vast sums of money to shew his grandeur and magnificence: the place of meeting was at Treves, where several things were discoursed of, and among the rest a marriage between their children, which was afterwards accomplished. After they had been several days together, of a sudden the emperor departed without so much as taking his leave, which the Duke of Burgundy looked upon as so great an affront, and was so generally resented, that there was never afterwards any true love between either themselves or their subjects: the duke's pompous and lofty manner of speaking (which they imputed to his pride) offended the Germans; and the emperor's meanness, both in his train and dress, appeared as contemptible to the Burgundians; and so far as was this accident extended, that from it alone the wars of Nuz had their original.⁹

"From this foiled coronation dates the series of reverses which the hated Louis XI awaited as the fruits of his own devising, but which his adversary, blinded by pride and passion, could neither fore-

see nor escape.”¹⁰ Constantly goaded, Charles was drawn into enterprises beyond his strength, and finally, driven to a kind of madness, he fell recklessly at Nancy, his nude and disfigured body abandoned on the field of battle.

“This one seems to have been born in armour,” Chastellain tells us in his famed comparison of father and son, “born of bellicose blood, ready for action, belonging to his father in valiance and pride in heart, he has no fear, great courage, loves arms and being in the field.”¹¹ He is more corpulent than his father, strong of arm and shoulder, not as direct in speech, but a handsome prince of beautiful appearance. Reubens shows him in full armor with staff held to his side, the other hand placed upon his hip. With all the absolutism of a Roman emperor he stands bareheaded, wearing a jeweled, golden ochre cape trimmed with ermine. He is no longer the sensitive crown prince of Rogier van der Weyden, but at the proud moment of his conquests close to the unification of Burgundy and the Lowlands. As sovereign of the Order, he wears the collar of the Golden Fleece with its broad chain of steels and flints over his dark armor, the St. Andrew’s cross emblazoned on the steel breastplate.

Rubens’ portrait, along with that of Louis XIII of approximately the same date, is one of a series of great state portraits which look back to those soldier portraits of Titian in the sixteenth century, and forward to the even more elaborate ceremonial portraits of Louis XIV.¹² As though following Lomazzo’s admonition to follow Titian’s portraits of Charles V when painting a figure in armor, Rubens had copied almost all of the many por-

traits of the Emperor Titian had painted.¹³ Rubens had also probably observed the decisive change that had occurred in Titian’s development of the armored figure *circa* 1537-38 when he did both the Twelve Emperor portraits and that of the Duke of Urbino. If the pose is based on sixteenth century prototypes, the figure is, however, seventeenth century in format; the spatial movement and angles of the arms, the broad enhancing sweep of the cape, the highlights and reflections on the dark metallic armor, the breaking light of the curtain and sky. The face and head set on the broad neck are conceived plastically to an astonishing degree, totally unlike Titian’s coloristic construction of heads.

When one compares the Rubens and the Van der Weyden, though they seem worlds apart, it is nevertheless possible to ascertain that Rubens did base his facial portrait on the Rogier painting, or a close copy or engraving of it, even though they are facing in opposite directions. While the expression is very different, the features are really very close—the long straight nose, the dark eyebrows, the way the shadow comes in along the bone of the cheek, the sensuous curve of the set lips, with shadow under the lower lip and out in a curve around the end of the mouth. The hair of the Rubens is longer, looser. Both have a barely perceptible stubble of beard. In the Rubens the head is more firmly set on the thick round neck, the expression is not so bland but hard and energetic, the eyebrows furrowed slightly in the middle as Chastellain described them, and above all, the expression of the eyes is different. Although they both glance in the same direction, in the Rubens the eyes are slightly narrowed with

taut little muscles around them, and while the iris is light in color the pupil is black so they appear sharp and piercing. In both portraits there is a taut muscle in the upper eyelid above the outer edge of the eye which is particularly characteristic. In the Rubens the eyes indicate something of the cruel fanatic passion that enveloped the duke in the end. Above all, he is shown in contrast to the fifteenth century painting as a man of action, a crusading martial figure, as he might have appeared in one of his lavish triumphs, possibly just at the time of his accession when he was thirty-four years old.¹⁴ Only the almost stormy blue-gray cloud streaked with yellow in a turquoise sky portends the ulti-

mate humiliation of the last of the powerful Burgundian dukes.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that this portrait, as well as that of Maximilian I, may have been intended for a gallery of illustrious statesmen and soldiers, and that it would have included the Philip the Good mentioned in Rubens' inventory. I think it may very well have included the painting, also unfinished and left in Rubens' studio at the time of his death, of Joan of Arc in the North Carolina Museum of Art.

Frances Huemer
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at Chapel Hill

NOTES

¹The accepted English translation is Charles the Bold, and although it has often been pointed out that Charles the Rash would be more appropriate, the latter term, after all, can apply only to the very late period when he lost his battles.

²Roses 913. M. Roses, "Ein neuer Rubens," *Kunst-chronik*, Sept. 1905, p. 523; M. Roses, *Bulletin Rubens* V, 1910, p. 314; Oldenbourg in *Klassiker der Kunst*, 1921, pl. 163; G. Gluck, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, Vienna, 1933, p. 165, and L. Buchard, *ibid*, p. 393; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, *Gemäldegalerie II* (1963), 307, 318.

³The color structure consists of golden ochre in the cloak and left curtain, a deep dark olive green for the center curtain, a dark metallic armor with red and white reflections, red, almost scarlet, on the inside of the cloak and the velvety skirt. In the skirt and area of the sword handle, underpaint shows through. The brilliance of the drawing and painting of the foreshortened arm and hand is extraordinary. The sky is a bright blue.

⁴H. Gerson in *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600-1800*, Boston, Penguin, 1960, p. 187, note 108.

⁵There are a number of manuscript portraits. See Comte Paul Durrieu, *La Miniature Flamande*, Brussels, 1921, p. 79, and above all, the catalogue *La Toison d'Or*, Bruges, 14-juillet-30 septembre 1962, p. 115ff., where the Berlin portrait is best reproduced, opp. p. 116 (cat. 35). I want to thank Miss Sara Jenkins and John Martin Schnorrenberg for calling these respective works to my attention, and Jaroslav Folda for helpful discussions.

⁶E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, I, 264.

⁷*La Toison d'Or*, p. 119 (cat. 38).

⁸Henri Pirenne in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII (1936), Chapter X, "The Low Countries."

⁹*The Memoirs of Philip de Comines*, I, London, 1823, p. 172.

¹⁰*The Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII (1936), p. 357.

¹¹Georges Chastellain, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*, Paris, 1827, tome 42, Elogé de Charles le Hardy, XXXI-XL.

¹²For a discussion of the Louis XIII portrait, see G. Gluck, "Rubens as a portrait painter," *Burlington Magazine*, v. 76, 1940, p. 183, and J. Goris and J. Held, *Rubens in America*, New York, 1947, p. 27 (cat. 8).

¹³J. Müller Hofstede, "Rubens und Tizian: Das Bild Karls V," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenen Kunst*, Band XVIII, 1967, basic for the Rubens-Titian portrait problem.

¹⁴There is a sixteenth century portrait of the Duke, which like the Rubens shows Charles in armor, but with a strange combination of armor, with the sword over the shoulder as in the earliest Titian portrait of Charles V. See C. Buttin, "Un nouveau portrait de Charles le Téméraire," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1926, pp. 137-138, and *La Toison d'Or*, p. 118 (cat. 36). Whatever may have been the source for this painting, it shows Charles in a strangely realistic and brutal fashion, and, if accepted as an authentic portrait, would have to represent the very last phase of his life.



Fig. 1. South German c. 1470-1480 (after the Master E. S.)
Madonna and Child Enthroned
Gift to NCMA of Robert Koch in memory of Dr. Clemens Sommer

MASTER E. S. AND A GOTHIC MOTHER-OF-PEARL ROUNDEL

One of Clemens Sommer's first graduate seminars at the University of North Carolina dealt with the origin and development of the fine art print in the fifteenth century. He put special emphasis upon that most attractive innovator, the anonymous German engraver Master E. S. I was privileged to be in that course, which more or less marked the beginning of a graduate program in the history of art at Chapel Hill in 1940. We concentrated on the functional role that the prints of Master E. S. often played as intermediaries between various art media, and we tried to analyze the artistic purpose and effect of the copy. The question "Which came first?" was frequently an issue, for sometimes the subject of the print seemed to have been adapted from a known, or theoretically once extant, painting or sculpture. Much more often, however, the prints themselves served as models for translation into virtually every known art medium, from blind-stamped bookbinding¹ to stained-glass.² This would appear to have been the basic *raison d'être* of the Master's prints.

On a trip with Dr. Sommer at the conclusion of the seminar to the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, with its fine repository of mediaeval art objects, we shared the exciting discovery of a little roundel depicting the "Martyrdom of Saint Barbara." Until then it had not been recognized as a careful translation of a print of Master E. S. (L 163) into small-scale sculpture in the precious medium of mother-of-pearl. This materialized in that momentous event in the career of

every would-be scholar, the first published article. I wrote it in conjunction with an article by Dr. Sommer on Master E. S.'s unique white-line engraved circular print of a Madonna (L 70), which he cleverly guessed was intended as the model for carvers in mother-of-pearl.³

Years later, after the war, I had the great good luck to discover in an antique shop in Bruges another mother-of-pearl roundel (Fig. 1). It was somewhat damaged but of the highest quality for a carving in this intractable medium; and to my eyes it sparkled as it reposed beneath a film of dust in a tray filled with cheap cameos, worn bronze coins, garnet costume jewelry, and old metallic buttons. There was no doubt in my mind that it was one of the few genuine antiques in a shop which seemed to specialize in faked mediaeval brass ewers. The subject of the roundel was an enthroned Virgin and Child, immediately recognizable as a close copy of the memorable Madonna image in the center of Master E.S.'s finest engraving, the large "Madonna of Einsiedeln" (L 81, Fig. 2). I was able to acquire this "pearl of great price" for a very modest sum (and I wondered how it had escaped the notice of other art historian visitors to Bruges, notably from Germany).

It was exhibited in 1967 at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in an original and stunning exhibition of the work of the Master E.S., commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of his presumed death date.⁴ It has since been my privilege to present the roundel to the North Carolina



Fig. 2. Master E. S.
Madonna of Einsiedeln (Engraving)

Museum of Art in memory of Clemens Sommer, one of its founders and guiding lights, as a small but luminous addition to a growing collection of mediaeval sculpture.⁵

The carver took particular care in copying from the print, for this Madonna reflected a very special sculptural image, as we shall see. With amazing skill his knife reproduced the complex drapery folds of Mary's robe, and the dancing pose of the nude Child, who holds the orb in his left hand and makes the gesture of blessing with his right. The Virgin, crowned as

Queen of Heaven, holds a fruit—probably a pear—in her right hand as a substitute for the complicated lily stalk in the print. The vaulted canopy and polygonal base of the throne have been adopted, and on either side the carver places two half-length angels in adoration. He clearly realized the significance of the print as a memento of the important cult image of the Madonna of Einsiedeln, which had been for centuries on the altar of the free-standing chapel of Saint Meinrad, located within this great Benedictine monastery church in Switzerland. Einsiedeln was then as now a famous pilgrimage site, like Monserrat in Spain, and in the E. S. composition pilgrims are seen within the Meinrad chapel, grouped about the sculpture to which they kneel in prayer or stand in reverence.

The sculptural design of the Madonna in the print was evidently a creation of Master E. S. himself and was not at all a reflection of the sculpture that he would have seen at Einsiedeln.⁶ The Madonna that is there today—apparently a Swiss or German work of the fifteenth century—is a standing figure and quite different in style (Fig. 3).⁷ Painted black, it has long been numbered among the several miracle-working “black Virgins” at pilgrimage sites throughout the Christian world, the most famous perhaps being the Romanesque Virgin at Monserrat. That Master E. S. elected to form his own image seems strange to us with our documentary and archaeological orientation to history, especially in view of the fact that recent scholarship seems to prove that the engraver himself was called to Einsiedeln in 1466 to execute this and two other, smaller prints which depict the sculpture in

varying but basically similar designs (L 68, L 72).⁸ (In both of the smaller compositions the Madonna does not hold the lily stalk but instead a pear, an idea taken over in the mother-of-pearl roundel.) The functioning of this sort of artistic license, in which the interpreter could “improve” the model by bringing it up-to-date, was inherent in the mentality of the Gothic artist, even as late as the fifteenth century.

The “sculptural style” of Master E. S.’s Madonna in the large Einsiedeln print, with deeply undercut folds, rhythmically convoluted in a circulating pattern, closely reflects an influence by the most creative and one of the most important sculptors of the late Gothic period, Nicolaus von Leyden. This artist’s originality, and sensitivity to humanity, excited Dr. Sommer, who gave lectures, wrote articles, and prepared a monograph on Nicolaus.⁹ Although his belief that the famous and fetching “Dangolsheim Madonna” in the Berlin Museum was a work of this master has not met with the widespread acceptance that it might have received with adequate publication, everyone has agreed with Dr. Sommer’s important discovery of the bust-length figure of an introspective male, then in Saverne (Alsace) and now in the Strasbourg Museum, as a work of Nicolaus and probably a self-portrait.¹⁰ Dr. Sommer also published a fine sandstone Madonna which he found in Thyrnau, near Passau, an important work in the Nicolaus style which bears a marked relationship to the Einsiedeln Madonna in the print by Master E. S (Fig. 4).¹¹

There was a special reason for the creation of the print. It would have been commissioned by the Monastery in 1466, along with the two other smaller ones

which also bear this year date, for sale to pilgrims who arrived there by the tens of thousands in November of that year in order to be granted remission of sins upon a notable occasion. It was the quincennial of a papal bull issued in 966 to permit an annual celebration of the hallowed dedication of the chapel of Saint Meinrad by Christ himself, with a host of



Fig. 3. South German or Swiss
Madonna (wood, polychromed)
Einsiedeln Monastery, Switzerland



Fig. 4. Style of Nicolaus Gerhaert von Leyden
Madonna (sandstone)
Thrynau



Fig. 5. Bartolommeo Veneto
Portrait of a Gentleman
Present location unknown

angels. This miracle had occurred in 948, when one Conrad of Constance was praying in the chapel.

In addition to the three engravings by E. S. many other souvenirs were created for the great event, though like most mementos very few have survived. These included small tokens, medallions, and even an illustrated blockbook which recounted the story of Meinrad, founder of the Monastery in the ninth century.¹² It is not unreasonable to believe that our mother-of-pearl was carved at this time and for this same purpose, to be sold to an affluent pilgrim as a piece of religious jewelry to be worn about the person.¹³ Although the Raleigh roundel could have been worn, for example, in a hat—an instance of which may be seen in the portrait of a gentleman by Bartolommeo Veneto from the early sixteenth century (Fig. 5)¹⁴—it was more likely worn as a pendant about the neck. This could explain the abraded high-relief areas of the two faces and the right hand of the Madonna; and this could also account for that portion

of the baldachin that was sliced away when someone later, and carelessly, pried the roundel loose from the gold, silver, or silver-gilt frame which probably surrounded it, as we may deduce from roundels that have survived with metal attachments.

Although nacre, like ivory, has attracted artisans through the ages, mother-of-pearl carvings from the late Gothic period are not common, and the Walters Art Gallery may be the only other museum in America which owns one (and the fragment of another¹⁵), from the fifteenth century. Today others are scattered about Europe in various museums, and there is a large collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.¹⁶ It is fitting that the North Carolina Museum of Art now owns one that is so closely related to two of the early scholarly interests of Clemens Sommer, the printmaker Master E. S. and the sculptor Nicolaus von Leyden.

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NOTES

¹Otto Kurz, "A Copy after the Master E. S. on a Jewish Bookbinding," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, XXIV (1965), pp. 3-11.

²Cf. the article by another student of Dr. Sommer, and a contributor to this issue, Charles I. Minott, "A Group of Stained-Glass Roundels at the Cloisters," *Art Bulletin*, XLIII (1961), pp. 237-239.

³"A Mother-of-Pearl Carving after the Master E. S.," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, V (1942), pp. 119-124.

⁴Master E. S., *Five Hundredth Anniversary Exhibition*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1967, No. 68 (illus.). Catalogue by Alan Shestak.

⁵Diameter 45 mm.

⁶This point was made by M. Geisberg, *Der Meister E. S.*, 2d ed., Leipzig, n.d. (1924), p. 51.

⁷P. L. Räber, *Einsiedeln im Bild*, Einsiedeln, 1950, p. 17 and Abb. 19; Vera Ostoia, "The Virgin and Child with Angels," *The Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XXV (1967), p. 359, Fig. 7.

⁸E. W. Hoffman, "Some Engravings Executed by the Master E. S. for the Benedictine Monastery at Einsiedeln," *Art Bulletin*, XLIII (1961), pp. 230-237; the two smaller prints illustrated as Figs. 2 and 3.

⁹The monograph was unfortunately never published, owing to the appearance of one by Otto Wertheimer (*Nicolaus Gerhaert*, Berlin, 1929). For a recent comprehensive survey of our knowledge of Master E. S. in all its aspects, including his relationship to Nicolaus von Leyden, together with a thorough analysis of the extensive bibliography, see the fine introductory text in the catalogue by Shestak mentioned in note 4 above.

¹⁰"Die sogenannte Johannesbüste in Zabern," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII (1929/30), pp. 143ff; Wertheimer, *op. cit.*, No. 9, pp. 45-46, Taf. 17, 18, 19; T. Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, Spain 1400-1500*, Baltimore, 1966, p. 81, Pl. 93.

¹¹"Ein Werk aus der Passauer Zeit des Nikolaus Gerhaert von Leyden," *Oberrheinische Kunst*, II (1927/28), pp. 29-33, Taf. 15, which reproduces the statue as it then existed with an overpainting in white. Dr. Sommer convinced the Bayrische Denkmalpflege to remove the overpainting. Our photograph reproduces the sculpture as it appears today, though there remain other layers of repaint, according to Dr. Sommer who saw it last in 1961. This information and the photograph have been kindly provided by Mrs. Sommer.

¹²See O. Ringholz, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benediktinerstiftes U.L.F. von Einsiedeln*, I, Einsiedeln, 1904, pp. 443-444; *ibid.*, *Die Kulturarbeit des Stiftes Einsiedeln*, New York, 1913, p. 15; *ibid.*, *Wallfahrts-geschichte Unserer Lieben Frau von Einsiedeln*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1896, p. 238, pp. 278-279.

¹³The practice continues today. In 1961 I purchased a carved mother-of-pearl roundel in a souvenir shop across the street from one of the most famous pilgrimage sites in Christendom, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Designed to be worn as a pendant, it is a crude depiction of the stereotype scene of the "Nativity".

¹⁴A. de Hevesy, "Um Bartolommeo Veneto," *Pantheon*, VII (1931), pp. 225-233, frontispiece. G. Pazaurek, *Perlmutter*, Berlin, 1937, p. 26, refers to this in connection with extant mother-of-pearl reliefs depicting St. George. Another one, not known to Pazaurek, is the subject of the note which follows.

¹⁵M. C. Ross, "A Late XV Century Mother-of-Pearl Carving," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VII-VIII (1944-45), pp. 125-126.

¹⁶See G. Pazaurek, *op. cit.*, *passim*. There are a number of others in the Victoria and Albert Museum not included in this book.

A graduate student at Princeton, Mr. Graham Smith, to whom I am indebted for assistance in the preparation of this article, recently published part of the results of a study of mother-of-pearl carvings of the fifteenth century: "Reflections of a Pattern Print by Master E. S.—Passion Cycles in Mother-of-Pearl," *Pantheon*, XXVI (1968) pp. 430-439.

Fig. 1. Marino Marini
Head of Igor Stravinsky
 Smith College Museum of Art
 Gift of Mrs. John Wintersteen

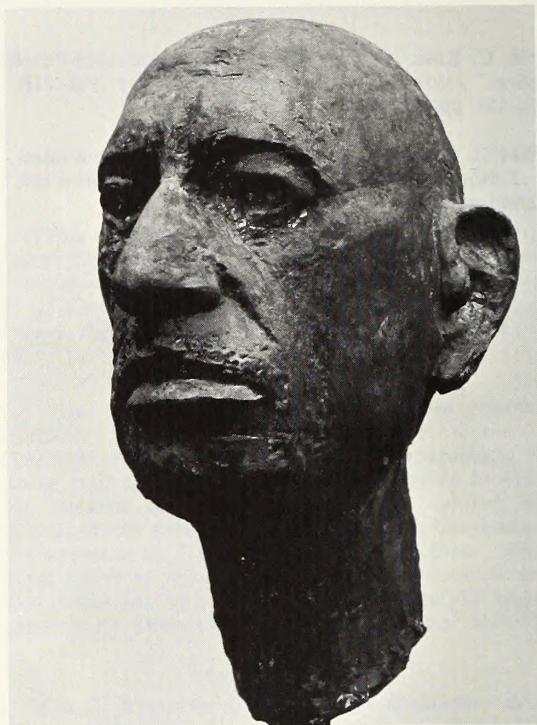
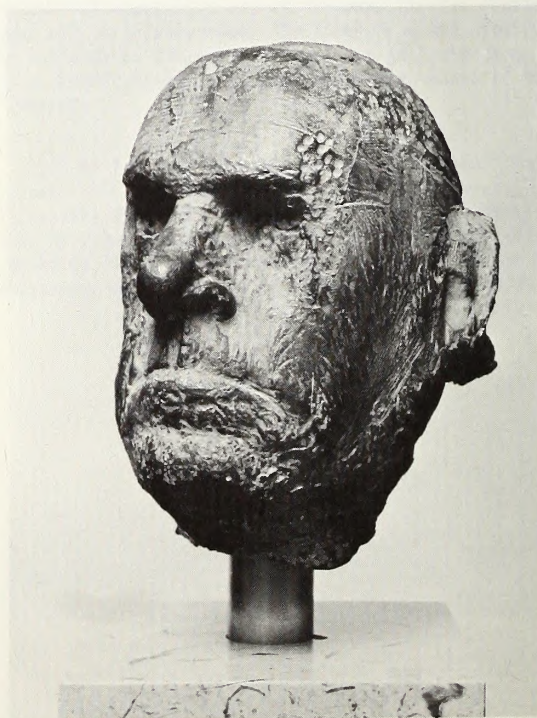


Fig. 2. Marini
Head of Curt Valentin
 Kunsthalle, Hamburg

Fig. 3. Marini
Portrait of the Painter Carlo Carra
 Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Trieste



MARINO MARINI AS PORTRAITIST

The portraits of Marino Marini are the least appreciated of his works, the monumental "Horse and Rider" motif having become most popularly associated with his name; yet he is probably the only living sculptor whose portraits would fit comfortably into the tradition dominated so eminently by Dürer, Rubens, Rembrandt and Rodin—artists who have demonstrated by the depth of their characterizations an extraordinary ability to "be" their subjects.

His best efforts are, understandably, those of his friends and fellow artists, done as acts of friendship and admiration, in circumstances which precluded the stresses and inhibitions which often attend the commissioned portrait. They have more formal power than the less daring efforts of an Epstein or a Jo Davidson. Likenesses are squeezed into massive, simplified shapes which have a vitality of their own—a vitality which heightens the pathetic and lyrical truth of the characterization.

Especially noteworthy are the 1951 version of Igor Stravinsky, now in the Smith College Museum of Art (Fig. 1), and the 1954 head of Curt Valentin of the Kunsthalle collection in Hamburg (Fig. 2), Stravinsky, his ovoid head with its exaggerated occiput surmounting a thin cylindrical neck, stares solemnly beneath lightly lowered lids. The head is erect, tilted slightly back, faintly suggestive of a tauter. There is a subtle disparity between the left and right halves of the face—the left beseeching, gentle; the right determined and unyielding.

The broad circular head of Valentin with its short thickset neck comprise a powerfully compact mass, within which the bulging eyes, flared nostrils, and sensual mouth reveal the irascible man of action, the "choleric man" of ancient physiology.

Typically, the surfaces of both works are richly textured—a feature of Marino's work which has received much criticism; but to speak of the roughened, encrusted surfaces as "deliberate archaism" is irrelevant. Marino is an expressionist, and the surface texture is a vital part of the emotional effect of the whole—just as color has assumed an increasingly important role in the surface enrichment of his more recent bronzes.

An excellent example of his portraiture which illustrates the importance of a heavily textured surface is the head of the painter Carlo Carrà in Triest's Modern Art Gallery (Fig. 3). This brooding, formidable countenance is even more compelling because of the putrescent character of its surface. (How unfortunate it would be if the large cleft in the forehead and the sheared nose and chin of Skopas' "Head of a Warrior" from Tegea were restored.)

Portraiture as art is rare—great twentieth century portraits have been rare indeed. This neglected aspect of Marino's *oeuvre* must emerge eventually as representative of some of his finest sculpture and establish him as one of the great portraitists of Western Art.

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Fig. 1. St. Matthew Apostle from
Hours of Catherine of Cleves
 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
 Photo Courtesy of Pierpont Morgan Library

THE ST. MATTHEW PAGE IN THE *HOURS OF CATHERINE OF CLEVES*

St. Matthew is the tenth apostle in a series of miniatures depicting the twelve apostles in the elaborately illustrated *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (Fig. 1). This manuscript, of Dutch origin and made about 1440, is now divided. Its two parts are in the Guennol Collection and the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City.¹ The apostles are included in the suffrages—devotional prayers to individual saints. St. Matthew is standing on a decorative tiled floor in a shallow space before a wall that is patterned with a tapestry-like decoration of gold on red. Most of the saints in the suffrages stand in similarly-arranged spaces.

As the author of the first Gospel, Matthew holds a book in his left hand. In his right hand is an architect's or carpenter's square. The instrument has been given considerable prominence by the illuminator. Matthew holds it away from his body, its surface parallel to the picture plane. The use of the square as a wood-working tool has been emphasized, too. The text and the picture of the saint are surrounded by a painted representation of a carved wooden frame decorated with rosettes and leaves in tones of natural wood color. Miter joints are carefully shown at each corner. Yet, if the emphasis on the carpenter's square is clear, its function as an attribute of St. Matthew is puzzling at first.

The rest of the apostles in the series carry objects that are firmly-established attributes. These represent the instruments of their martyrdom or symbols of their deeds on earth.²

The carpenter's square that is held by St. Matthew is often used as an attribute of the Apostle Thomas.³ This reflects the tradition through which Thomas became the patron saint of architects. *The Golden Legend*, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Bishop of Genoa at the end of the thirteenth century, is one source for the story. While in India this widely-traveled apostle is said to have been commissioned to build a new palace for a certain King Gondoforus. Instead, the saint gave the gold and silver allotted for construction of the building to the poor. Enraged at the discovery of this inroad to his treasury, the king had St. Thomas cast into prison with threats that he would be killed. Then a dead brother of the king appeared to Gondoforus and revealed a vision of a gold and silver palace in heaven built by Thomas's good works. This persuaded the king to spare the saint. St. Thomas is also reputed to have founded and built several churches.

St. Matthew, on the other hand, is connected with no particular building activity or carpentry, at least in the major accounts of his life. One explanation for the square in his right hand might be that it is a simple transposition. The apostles are often depicted in pairs, following the Biblical account written by Matthew himself. During his ministry Christ sent the apostles out two-by-two to preach and heal among the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. 10:1-6; Mark 6:7-13). Thomas and Matthew were thus paired. A lance such as that held by St. Thomas in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* is

sometimes shown as the symbol of St. Matthew's martyrdom.⁴

But the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* is a particularly sophisticated manuscript with many intricate iconographical details in its vast numbers of illustrations. It seems unlikely that the illuminator would err or be careless in an important series of illustrations such as this. Furthermore, in a border design showing the Apostles' Creed that frames a miniature of St. Acacius and the ten thousand martyrs, Saint Thomas and Matthew appear again with the same attributes.⁵

In fact, the Apostles' Creed illustration presents some evidence of the meaning in the portrayal of St. Matthew as a carpenter or architect. The Apostles' Creed is a declaration of faith composed, according to tradition, by the apostles just before their dispersal to preach the gospel in all lands. Each of the apostles is credited with one of the twelve articles in its text.⁶ St. Matthew is the ninth in this series and his declaration in the manuscript has been shortened to *Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*

St. Matthew, along with all of the apostles, is considered an architect of the Church on earth. Their mission was to build the *edifice* of the church through the *edification* of all the world's inhabitants.⁷ The idea is embodied in the scriptures themselves:

Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; In whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple

in the Lord: In whom ye also are build-
ed together for an habitation of God
through the Spirit (Eph. 2:19-22).

St. Matthew, as writer of the first Gospel, whose life and deeds are comparatively little-recorded, may be considered to bear the attribute of the square as the representative of all twelve apostles.

But there is more to observe about this square held by the Apostle Matthew. By projecting the instrument parallel to the picture plane, the illuminator has made it possible to measure the instrument geometrically. It forms a perfect 3-4-5 triangle, the arms three and four units in length. Thus the hypotenuse, following Pythagorus' ancient theorem, measures five units. What is more, the left-hand section of the frame is exactly as wide as the shorter arm of the square and the upper section measures the same as the longer arm. Thus, of course, the miter joint at the upper left is the same length as the hypotenuse. Centered on this miter joint is a roundel inscribed with a square within which, in an octagonal space formed by diagonals at the corners, a tiny human face peers out. The face is painted as if carved in wood and has its mouth open, evidently indicating oratory.

Is this just a meaningless Gothic grotesque? Evidently not, for the diameter of the roundel, half the length of the miter joint, is exactly that of St. Matthew's halo. Outside the corners of the frame appear an inscription: *Forma(m) viri dat(am) matheo | quia scripsit sic de deo | sicue descendit ab eo | quem formavit homin(eo)*.⁸ The inscription ends in the upper left, beside the "inhabited" roundel. It is a direct explanation for the selection of the "*formam viri*" as the symbol of St.

Matthew. But in this case the symbol represents the saint as Evangelist rather than apostle. There can be little doubt that the human face in the geometric configuration of circle, square, and octagon is meant to represent that symbol.

The symbol of a man, usually winged and frequently mistaken for an angel, was assigned to St. Matthew because his Gospel opens with the human genealogy of Christ. For this reason St. Matthew is often paired with the Old Testament prophet Isaiah.⁹ Isaiah's promise of "a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch . . . out of his roots" (Isaiah 11:1) is the source of the genealogical 'Jesse tree' illustrated twice in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*.¹⁰ It was, in fact, the prophet Isaiah and the Evangelist St. Matthew who formed the prophetic and evangelical source for St. Paul's Text in the Epistle to the Ephesians cited above (Isaiah 28:16; Matt. 21:42). Both were elaborating on Psalm 118:22 (Lat. 117:22). But this simply justifies the depiction of St. Matthew as a carpenter or builder. Some further explanation seems required to explain the presence of Matthew's symbol in this unusual fashion in the midst of all this geometric construction.

Elsewhere in the book of Isaiah is a verse that is a virtual description of the St. Matthew page of the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*:

The carpenter stretcheth out his rule; he marketh it out with a line; he fitteth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man . . . (Isaiah 44:13).¹¹

Isaiah is actually denouncing the "makers of graven images" in the passage from

which this verse is taken (verses 9-20). But it is a remarkably astute observation, as Erwin Panofsky observed, of ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern methodology in the forming of statuary.¹² Actually, it corresponds as well to those basic mediaeval theories of proportion that are usually termed "Byzantine" and "Gothic", the former surviving from origins in the ancient Near East to the handbook of Cennino Cennini at the end of the fourteenth century, the latter expressed best in the geometric figures and faces in the notebooks of Villard de Honnecourt of the mid-thirteenth century.¹³

Neither of these mediaeval systems is concerned with human proportions in the organic, classical sense that was the preoccupation of ancient Greece and Rome. Vitruvius' canon of human proportions, the only one of these classical systems to have been preserved, was also known to the middle ages, but there is no evidence that its precepts were ever applied.¹⁴ Rather, the well-known observations in Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture*, Book III, Chapter 1, were given cosmological interpretation.¹⁵

By linking his unusual representation of the symbol of St. Matthew to the geometric shapes obtained as a builder or architect would construct them, the illuminator has indicated this symbolic rather than organic approach. The dominant forms—a circle inscribed with a square—may even indicate that Vitruvius was his source. At the end of his observations on human proportions, Vitruvius demonstrates that the perfect number is sixteen. The symbol of St. Matthew appears at the head of a row of sixteen roundels.

No doubt, because it is commensurate with the halo of St. Matthew, the circle around the symbolic head is meant to represent an aureole. As a simple geometric form the circle also represents a single, unchanging infinity. Within the circle, the inscribed square can be seen as representative of all those earthly fundamentals based on the number four—elements, seasons, compass points, major prophets and evangelists. The octagon in the square is quite irregular in shape. Nonetheless its format is based on the number eight, a symbol of resurrection and new life.¹⁶ Finally, the sum of the sides of the architect's square (or the triangle formed by it) is twelve, the number of the universal Church (the Trinity in all four parts of the earth) and hence the

apostolic number. This fact could not have escaped the attention of the artist.

Even the pattern on the tiles of the floor, a roundel centered on a diagonally divided yellow and black field, calls attention to the geometry of the architect's square and the corner roundel. It does not appear that the particular attributes given St. Matthew in the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* were ever used elsewhere. Quite possibly they were the invention of the artist himself, a forthright expression of the architect, painter, and even the sculptor in service to God and, in a measure, to mankind.

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NOTES

¹See the magnificent reproduction of all the miniatures and reconstruction of the original volume by John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, New York, 1966, with the earlier bibliography. The manuscript is also discussed at length in L.M.J. Delaissé, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination*, Berkeley, 1968. The St. Matthew page is illustrated on plate 113 in the Plummer volume, figure 150 in Delaissé. All of the suffrages illustrations are in the Morgan Library portion of the manuscript, MS M. 917. St. Matthew appears on p. 231.

²St. Peter carries the huge key to the gate of heaven. St. Paul, who appears in this series in place of St. Judas Thaddeus, holds the sword by which he was put to death outside the Ostian Gate of Rome. St. Andrew displays the large X-shaped cross on which he died near Patras in Greece. St. James the Greater appears in a landscape, pilgrim's staff in hand, wallet at his side, and symbolic cockle-shell affixed to his wide-brimmed hat. St. John the Evangelist displays the poisoned chalice that represents one of the many attempts on his life made by the Emperor Domitian and others. The little black demon in the bowl of the chalice represents the exorcised poison. St. Thomas holds a lance which in some accounts was the instrument of his death in India. St. James the Less carries the fuller's bat with which he was beaten to death in Jerusalem. The Apostle Philip holds a book and a cross-staff, the latter symbolic of his death by crucifixion at Hieropolis in Phrygia. St. Bartholomew holds the knife that represents his martyrdom. He was flayed alive at Albanopolis in Armenia. The Apostle Simon is reading from an open book. He holds a long-bladed saw, conforming to the usual tradition that his death was effected by this instrument in Persia. The last apostle in the series is St. Matthias who was chosen by lot to fill the place of Judas Iscariot (Acts 1:23-26). Matthias holds a book and an ax. He was, according to tradition, stoned and then beheaded. The locale varies in the several accounts of his life. The lives of the apostles are little recorded in the Bible. Many various stories and legends of their deeds were collected in the *Historiae apostolicae*, attributed to Abdias, first Bishop of Babylon. These were abridged and repeated in many later mediaeval collections. Though apocryphal and often contradictory, these legends became the basis for the attributes generally accorded to the individual apostles in mediaeval art.

³St. Thomas appears with a square on the south portal of Chartres Cathedral. There are myriad examples from the fifteenth century, e.g., the right panel of Rogier van der Weyden's St. John Altarpiece where Thomas and Matthias appear as statues at the right, illustrated in E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, II, pl. 205. In the great Portinari Altarpiece of Hugo van der Goes, on the other hand, St. Thomas carries a huge lance. E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 304, 306.

⁴St. Matthew more frequently holds a sword (also held at times by St. Thomas). In an alternate version of his life St. Matthew is said to have lived to a peaceful old age, preaching in Egypt and Ethiopia. His remains were discovered at Salerno in 1080.

⁵John Plummer, *op. cit.*, pl. 126.

⁶St. Peter: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem coeli et terrae*. St. Andrew: *Et in Jesum Christum Filium e jus unicum, Dominum nostrum*. St. James Major: *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine*. St. John: *Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus*. St. Philip: *Descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit à mortuis*. St. James Minor: *Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis*. St. Thomas: *Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*. St. Bartholomew: *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*. St. Matthew: *Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam; sanctorum communionem*. St. Simon: *Remissionem peccatorum*. St. Matthias: *Carnis resurrectionem*. St. Thaddeus: *Et vitam aeternam*.

⁷See the bas-de-page illustrations of the calendar in Jean Pucelle's *Belleville Breviary*, Paris, Bib. Nat. ms. lat. 10483 in which each of twelve prophets progressively tears down the synagogue, handing the building materials to the apostles to construct the Universal Church, illustrated, e.g., by E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 5, fig. 11; also Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image*, New York, 1958, p. 304.

⁸The form of a man is given to Matthew, who has written of God that He who made man shall be descended from him.

⁹As in a south transept window at Chartres, E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and fig. 10, on the "Prince's Portal" at Bamberg and elsewhere.

¹⁰John Plummer, *op. cit.*, pls. 90 and 143.

¹¹*Artifex lignarius extendit normam, formavit illud in runcina: fecit illud in angularibus, et in circino. tornevit illud: et fecit imaginem viri quasi speciosum hominem . . .*

¹²Erwin Panofsky, "The History of the Theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles," Chapter II in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York, 1955, p. 70, n. 20.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 72-87.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 90-91-n. 64.

¹⁵Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, tr. Morris H. Morgan, New York, 1960, pp. 72-75.

¹⁶E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-14.



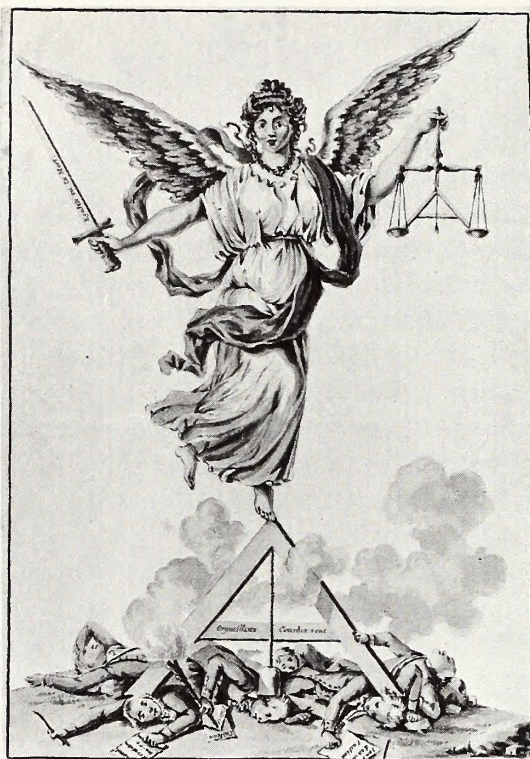
Fig. 1. Attributed to Nicholas Andre Monsiau
Le Triomphe de la République Française
sous les auspices de la Liberté
 Auckland Art Center, Chapel Hill

A NOTE ON FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY ICONOGRAPHY

Down to the art of the mid-eighteenth century, the study of iconography furnishes essential insights, but for the centuries since, it plays a far less useful role, since the great western traditions, pagan and Christian, had until then been fundamentally involved with the depiction of events both real and imaginary which were widely regarded as significant illustrations of the human condition. As society moved into the modern era, however, scenes from antiquity and Christian literature became less meaningful to generations increasingly concerned with new forces and new ideas for which art was unprepared in the sense of having any effective repertory of symbols or incidents by which to elucidate them. The force of subject matter, at least in any didactic or influential sense, steadily diminished. Scholars examining the more recent centuries have paid relatively less attention to dramatic content in art after about 1750, assuming that painting which still clung to exposition by way of "story telling" was inherently inferior, or, if not inferior, that subject was a more minor aspect of the total content of the picture. Since modern art eventually divested itself of nearly all meaning of this kind, scholarship has usually been content to mark the stages by which this new freedom was achieved, paying little attention to the subjects lingering on from the earlier mode. It is, of course, very true that the ebbing of the tide of Renaissance artistic tradition left many artists stranded with cumbersome and inappropriate

themes imbedded in carefully painted but dull canvases. But if the metaphor can be extended a little further, one should point out that objects left on the beach at low tide are often well worth observing, just as the obsolescence of a great body of thought is not without interest. Critics and historians, like the rest of society, make a habit of directing their energies to dominant events or individuals, yet if a portion of their labors could be devoted to recessive, unsuccessful trends and persons, a much more truthful picture of the times would be obtained.¹ This brief paper furnishes a glance at an iconography left high and dry by the ebb of classicism.

The French Revolution was, without question, the most "artistic" revolution in all of history, a sign, perhaps, of an essentially upper middle class attitude; certainly a mark of an unusual self-consciousness about what was going on.² Paris, and to a certain extent the other cities of France, witnessed pageants, processions, ceremonies, observances, all of which were accompanied by a prodigious mass of imagery designed to give spiritual and aesthetic dimensions to the new social age being brought into being amid unbelievable suffering and bloodshed. In this visual dimension as in other ways, the Revolution depicted itself as a moral progression toward Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity escorted along the way by a host of related virtues. By the same token, Injustice, Monarchy, Clericalism, Poverty, Privilege, and their attendant evils were



L'ÉGALITÉ TRIOMPHANTE ou LE TRIUMVIRAT PUNI
*L'Égalité, la balance dans main et l'épée de l'autre, plane sur la République, le pied éternel sur son trépas. Les têtes de tyran
 Bouillonnés de l'Empire Couverts et du Libérateur, sont jetés avec eux dans la fosse de l'opprobre, la Convention.
 Roulés qui dans le Puits de la Terreur, d'après l'ordre de la Convention, ont été en vain, en vain les Triumvirs à craindre la
 Patrie, d'après leur nom, de la République, la Liberté et l'Égalité.*

Fig. 2 *L'Egalite Triomphante ou Le Triumvirat Puni*
 Library, UNC-Chapel Hill

being forever broken, crushed, put to flight or left behind to make the way clear for the new order—a finer, more perfect, more human order than any the world had yet seen.

A moment's reflection will suggest that art would be hard put to express even a fraction of these multiple ideals in comprehensible form, or at least to do so as swiftly as the march of events demanded. Any slow growth by way of an accretion of common belief was out of the question, for the new social faith needed its artistic resources from the very start. David, of

course, was for a time brilliantly successful, but the greatness of his achievement in the 'eighties is partly measured by the lack of similar significance in the work of his associates. The problem, obviously, was one of finding a ready-made source of viable symbols outside the now discredited world of orthodox religion. In the end, the only possible source turned out to be the art of antiquity, with whose virtues the French had for some time been associating themselves.³ Most of the revolutionary iconography thus has more or less obvious classical derivation, the rest being a collection of self-evident signs drawn from the bric-a-brac of an overthrown social order or from a new one in the process of formation.

Two watercolors now in the collections of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill serve as interesting illustrations of the problems involved.

The first, attributed to Nicholas André Monsiau (1757-1837) a rather minor master of the period, is entitled "Le Triomphe de la République Française sous les auspices de la Liberté"⁴ (Fig. 1). Doubtless made for later engraving, it still possesses a lively charm and fresh coloration, but the observer is likely to be too overwhelmed by the subject matter to pay much attention to stylistic quality, good or bad.

Beside a huge temple in the Tuscan style, moves a flat four-wheeled car drawn forward by a pair of sturdy, concerned-looking lions who undoubtedly signify the strength of newly liberated France, suggesting also that she is the modern Cybele, mother of the king of the gods.⁵ The Republic (France) is seated on the car clasp- ing the bundled fasces of Unity with her

left arm while her right encircles the waist of Liberty standing with an affectionate arm about her shoulders. Between the two stands the somewhat astonishing form of a white cat, a creature which, according to Renouvier was dear to revolutionary symbolists. In Ripa's *Iconologia*, Liberty is shown with a cat which, says the legend, "amo molto la Libertà."⁶

Behind the car, two female figures proffer arms and the Tricolor to Liberty, while in front, beside the lions stands Hercules, representing the French People.⁷ Threatened by his great club, Monarchy falls sprawling on the ground beside a broken crown and an overturned altar. The fate of the Bourbon monarchy is plainly signified by this figure with a broken sceptre surmounted by a fleur de lis, whose body half hides a yoke, and whose hand vainly reaches for the harness of the lions in a despairing effort to check their progress. The rear wheels of the car are about to crush a blindfolded figure whose identity as the Church is indicated by the cross awkwardly raised in her left hand, while the right grasps a dagger.⁸ On the far side of the lions, another sturdy male figure holds a tablet inscribed: DROITS DE L'HOMME. Fleeing from the path of this irresistible procession are two additional crowned figures one of whom is accompanied by an eagle (Austria?) and the other by a leopard (England?).⁹ In the background stands an obelisk with an indecipherable inscription.

The heavens are filled with Victories blowing trumpets and flourishing palm branches.¹⁰ On a convenient cloud above the head of *La République*, the nude figure of Truth holds an open book with her left hand while with her right, by means

of a mirror, she directs a ray of light into the dark, huddled figures behind the chariot, in the center of which crouches Ignorance with ass's ears. Open manacles on the ground show that these are recently liberated folk, some of whom are just now taking off the masks of error. Above their heads a departing Fury with a flaming torch suggests the rout of Evil. In the right foreground, a blue snake crawls past the weed-grown decay of an edifice whose fallen column is clearly marked with the Bourbon fleur-de-lis.¹¹

To complete the almost overwhelming message of the picture, the artist has provided a painted frame with olive branches in the upper corners. At the top, in the center, is the Phrygian cap of Liberty (also worn by the figure of Liberty below), while in the left and right sides of the border are the fasces of Fraternity bound around the spear and axe in good Roman fashion. The inscription at the bottom is divided on either side of laurel wreaths which flank the ever-present mason's level of Equality.¹²

From Hercules to Liberty, from Church to Monarchy, nothing has been omitted that might help to tell the story of man's new condition, but nowhere in the entire picture is there a single object of the 18th century, human or otherwise. The whole is a prolonged, unrelieved analogy, a massive adoption of antique meanings for a modern occasion. Since this small watercolor, a miniature of the whole panoply of the Revolution, was doubtless intended for popular consumption, it is clear that even the meanest citizen was expected to know the new classical catechism, his guide to the brotherhood of man.



Fig. 3. Peter Paul Rubens
Triumph of the Church and Eucharist
Prado, Madrid

The other, later, watercolor is far simpler, and its message, though still expressed symbolically, is quite different¹³ (Fig. 2). No longer a summary of triumphant Republicanism, it is instead a Thermidorian cartoon of the revenge Equality takes on those who dare to rise too high above their citizen peers. Poised somewhat uncertainly on tiptoe, her winged figure awkwardly brandishes a sword inscribed "Equality or Death" while with her other hand she holds a set of balances from the center of which hangs her symbol, the mason's level. This personification of Justice-Equality alights on a huge version of this same tool whose massive weight crushes six figures into the earth. On the crossbar we read: "Proud ones, humble yourselves." The exact identity of each of these unhappy figures is not ascertainable even though three of them have papers in their hands with partially legible inscriptions.¹⁴ However, the general meaning is made plain by the text beneath:

EQUALITY TRIUMPHANT or THE TRIUMVIRATE PUNISHED

Equality, with the scales in one hand and sword in the other, flies over the Republic, her foot lightly placed on her level. She crushes the heads of the Tyrant Robespierre, the Hypocrite Couthon, and the Insolent St. Just. Their agents lie with them in the tomb of ignominy. The National Convention,

which during the night of the 9th-10th Thermidor displayed as much courage as virtue in striking down the Triumvirs, has saved the Motherland. Let us all say with her, Long Live the Republic, Liberty, and Equality!

The first watercolor is a small scale history painting comparable and in many ways very similar to such an example as Rubens' "Triumph of the Church and Eucharist" in the Prado (Fig. 3), but the later one is only a political cartoon where a more or less classic personification of the virtue of equality is taking revenge on real people in contemporary costume.¹⁵ The unknown artist of the cartoon is also far less gifted technically than the author of the "Triumph of the Republic." The two works could not have been done very far apart in time, two or three years at the most, yet the difference between them is significant. The first is still in the great tradition, albeit in a weakened and inadequate form, while the later one is satirical, modern, and partisan, using the forms of antiquity in a practical and quite unidealized manner. These revealing examples of the essential hollowness of classicism for the new age just coming into being foretell plainly the later fate of the classical tradition in painting at the hands of the Davidians.

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NOTES

¹A notable example of the rich dividends to be extracted from seemingly unpromising material is Robert Rosenblum's *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*, Princeton, 1967. The four essays in this small volume furnish valuable new insights into the arts of the late 18th century.

²There is surprisingly little literature readily available on the iconography of the French Revolution. The standard work for many years has been Jules Renouvier, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Révolution*, Paris, 1863, but in the light of the work of David Dowd, W. R. Valentiner, Rosenblum and other scholars, the material could well be restudied. There are interesting reproductions in many books and even some interpretation, as in Ernest F. Henderson, *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*, New York, 1912. Unhappily, Henderson gives no sources for his illustrations.

³David, of course, put the classical world unforgettably before the eyes of the revolutionary French. Cf. Rosenblum, *op. cit.*, pp. 78ff and notes. For an extended discussion of the classicism of the Revolution see H. T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries*, Chicago, 1937. Parker, however, has very little to say about the visual aspects of his cult.

⁴Ackland Art Center 68.12.1. Watercolor, 10% x 14%". The picture is a recent acquisition and its attribution to Monsiau is still under investigation. For the artist, see Renouvier, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-319. Note the misspelling of "Auspices" in the legend (Fig. 1).

⁵Her car was alleged to have been drawn by lions.

⁶Renouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 399: "Many other curious emblems should be noted if it is a matter of exhausting the field of Republican iconology, such as the Cock, the Eagle, the Cat, animals favored by the Republic . . ." He also mentions the serpent as a favorite symbol—for immortality? Andreae Alciati, *Emblemata* . . . (1661), says that the serpent was a well-known Egyptian symbol for the emperor or king. That this is the meaning intended in the present instance seems evident in depicting the serpent beside the overthrown column marked with the fleur-de-lis. The emblem of Liberty with the cat is found in Ripa's *Iconologia* (ed., 1630), p. 444.

⁷Hercules had other meanings for the French such as strength or force, but he was most often used to represent the people. See Renouvier's description (*op. cit.*, p. 31) of a painting by Hennequin, "Le Triomphe du peuple dans la journée du 10 août."

⁸Note the similarity to the figures under the wheels in Rubens' "Triumph of the Church and Eucharist," (Fig. 3) in the Prado.

⁹This identification is admittedly conjectural, but since they have crowns like the overturned Monarchy in the foreground, and since they flee in terror they may represent other monarchies. For the leopard as a symbol for England see Oswald Barron's article "Heraldry" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIII, p. 325: "The English kings' beasts were leopards in blazon, in ballad, and chronicle, and in the mouths of liegeman and enemy . . . —Napoleon's gazettes never fail to speak of the English leopards."

¹⁰Cf. Fig. 3.

¹¹The meaning of the snake is not clear. It could be an evil sign associated with the ruined temple of the Bourbon monarchy (see note 6). Renouvier (p. 399) suggests a favorable significance.

¹²The level hangs also as a pendant about the neck of *La République*,

¹³Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (Hoyt Collection). Watercolor, 9% x 15% inches. This same picture, but with a dark background, appears in Henderson, *op. cit.*, Plate 170 facing p. 436, but no source or technique is given. This version has obviously been reworked in the face of *Égalité*, in the clouds, in the drapery and elsewhere. The North Carolina picture is surely the original design.

¹⁴Identification of the fallen men is difficult. The one at the left has a sheet apparently bearing the words "—bunal Revolutionnaire." This would suggest that he is St. Just. The central form clutches pages reading "Tableau. Flateur" which might suggest the word "hypocrite" used beneath to describe Couthon. If this is correct, the last man must be Robespierre. The sheet in his hand is not entirely decipherable but the last words are "d'aucu (n) faction."

¹⁵Rubens' famous sketch is a cartoon for a tapestry. As to the dates of the two watercolors, it seems clear that the one attributed to Monsiau is the earlier. It cannot have been done earlier than the creation of the Republic in the summer of 1792 or later than the

decline of the whole classical spirit behind the Revolution which occurred soon after the Thermidorian revolt of July, 1794. The second picture must date from this time, very shortly after the fall of Robespierre and his colleagues.



Fig. 1. *The Joys of Mary* (retable) detail
 Swansea Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum

THE COMPOSITE NATIVITY-ADORATION OF MEDIEVAL ENGLISH ALABASTERS

Of the estimated 3000 sculptures that survive from the extensive medieval English alabaster trade,¹ less than a hundred reliefs are known to be in American collections.² One of the most typical subjects with iconographical traits peculiar to English alabasters is a combined representation of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. Seven versions of this composite Nativity-Adoration are in American collections (Baltimore, Cambridge, Chicago, New York, and Providence); about thirty published pieces are in European collections; additional unpublished examples are in the Victoria and Albert Museum. As one traces the history of the alabaster Nativity-Adoration, one encounters evidence of an important late medieval industry and international commerce as well as iconographical peculiarities and fascinating works of art.

Alabaster is a granular variety of gypsum that is easily carved. It gradually hardens after being out of the ground³ and is capable of taking a high polish; its solubility in water makes it unsuitable for outdoor work. Some alabaster has brownish streaks caused by iron oxide, but that of England can be distinguished by its whiteness. The fine quality of the material quarried in Derbyshire and Staffordshire was famous and made it possible for an industry to develop.⁴ Tomb sculpture was a major part of English alabaster produc-

tion, however, the international trade rested on narrative reliefs which were grouped into altarpieces. Trade in these reliefs flourished from the mid-fourteenth century until the sixteenth century when the religious troubles put an end to the industry and caused the altarpieces to be demolished. English alabasters were so much in demand that they are found from Iceland to Italy. Alabaster reliefs were sent to the continent as individual pilgrimage offerings⁵ and in shiploads as merchandise.⁶

Early production of alabaster reliefs was mainly single tablets which were framed separately. By the end of the fourteenth-century *Benedictional of St. Aethel-* five or seven tables in framed sets to form reredoses—there are hundreds of small panels about 15 x 11 inches in museums and churches all over Europe that are evidence of this practice. The most popular sets were the *Passion* series and the *Joys of Mary*. The composite Nativity-Adoration was a component of the latter because the complete altarpiece usually had this subject as well as the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Coronation of the Virgin, even if the center panel was sometimes devoted to a favorite saint, e.g. the Mass of St. Gregory tablet at Montréal (Yonne).⁷ The Victoria and Albert Museum has a retable of the Joys of Mary from the Swansea collection that is still

in its original frame with traceried canopies and companion panels (Fig. 1).⁸

In most of the alabaster Adorations the Virgin sits up in a canopied bed holding the Child who reaches toward the chalice offered by a kneeling king, and two kings stand in the background while Joseph sleeps in a lower corner. Heads of the ox and ass are invariably below the Virgin's bed. The figures in the alabaster panels are organized to fill the two-dimensional vertical format with little concern for three-dimensional space. Areas of the panels are deeply undercut and are almost in the round; the rest is in high relief. The heads are large in proportion to the height of the figures; they have high foreheads, prominent noses, and thin lips. Blank, uncut eyes give an expressionless look to the faces. The quality of carving of the alabaster Adorations is an interesting mixture—in places the carving is skillful as in the hands of the Fogg panel (Fig. 2); contrasted with that is the stereotyped carving of the crowns with monotonous markings of inverted "V's".⁹

Alabaster Adorations are a combination of traditional insular elements and echoes of the International Style. In fact the Adorations are a composite of mood as well as subject: the attitude of the Holy Family is in the spirit of an informal domestic interior, whereas that of the kings recalls the courts of chivalry. The diagonal position of the Virgin's couch with the heads only of the ox and ass just below it was an ancient tradition of English Nativities from as long ago as the tenth-century *Benedictional of St. Aethelwold* (Fig. 5) in the British Museum (MS



Fig. 2. *Adoration of the Magi*
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University
Gift of Seward W. Eric

add. 49598). The clearest trace of the International Style is in the courtly mien of the kings, their curled hair and beards, and their fashionable garments. The gesture of the king holding his crown is a Gothic innovation that grew out of the chivalric tradition.

Effort to date the alabaster Adorations reveals the patient scholarship which localized the alabaster industry. Destruction of works *in situ* was so thorough during the Reformation that all memory of the industry had been obliterated.¹⁰ In the late

nineteenth century, French antiquarians became curious about the origin of the numerous alabaster retables in France. Victor Gay called attention to the little panels in 1887 and suggested that the place of origin was near the Jura.¹¹ Count de Marsy made a plea to an 1896 session of L'Association Normande for help in finding the origin of the alabaster reliefs.¹² In 1901 Abbé Bouillet catalogued nearly 300 alabasters in France but still had no idea of their English provenance.¹³ It was not until the twentieth century that the unquestioned English origin of the alabaster reliefs was established. By 1904 W. H. St. John Hope had gathered enough evidence from medieval records¹⁴ and unearthed alabasters to publish his conclusions about a thriving medieval trade.¹⁵ Since Hope's initial investigations details of the extent of the industry have been filled in by Belgian, French, German, Italian and Spanish scholars as well as English ones.¹⁶

Precise dating of the alabaster tables is difficult because many of them are mass-produced shopwork in which the same pattern was followed for years, but there are enough differences to divide the production into about three groups.¹⁷ The earliest reliefs, dated in the second half of the fourteenth century, are characterized by single, low-relief panels with finished edges, often wider than they are tall, as in the composite Epiphany at Long Melford.¹⁸ The second group, produced from the end of the fourteenth century into the fifteenth century, consists of vertical tablets which were a result of the grouping of the reliefs into retables. These panels

are cut deeper, and they are finished with a crenelated upper edge that has caused them to be called the "Embattled" type. The third group was carved during the second half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century until the destruction of the industry by the religious upheavals. The tablets of the last period are also vertical and are about the same size as those of the second group, but they have a straight upper edge instead of battlements. Originally each panel was surmounted by a detached traceried heading. Plaques of the



Fig. 3. *Adoration of the Magi*
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1911

last group were sometimes arranged in two rows, as in the reredos at Compiègne,¹⁹ and depended on the massed effect of the complete retablo to impress the beholder.

Clearly the composite Nativities in American collections should be classified in the third group because they are vertical panels and have straight upper edges. Composites of the mid-fifteenth century are so



Fig. 4. *Adoration of the Magi*
Private Collection, Providence, R. I.

similar that it is logical to suppose that a common pattern was used for the basic layout. The design was drawn on the stone with an incised line, and the surrounding parts were cut away to form the relief.²⁰ The existence of a pattern seems certain because occasionally the composition was reversed (as in the Swansea Adoration), as if the craftsman had turned over the pattern before transferring it to the alabaster block. One of the most persistent conventions in the Adorations is the placement of the heads of the animals below the Virgin's couch between Joseph and the kneeling king. Even with the reliance on a common pattern, no two of the alabaster tables are identical; there was latitude for the carver in the details. Comparison of the panels shows variety in detail and differing quality of workmanship. All are mass-produced works dependent on the same conventions, but nearly every one has some detail of fine carving or accurate observation that sets it apart as an individual work of art as seen in comparing the Fogg panel and the Metropolitan's Rogers relief (Fig. 3). The attitude of the figures is identical even to the turn of the wrist of the king holding the crown. Variations occur in the costumes: the New York Virgin is crowned whereas the Cambridge Virgin wears an archaic headdress; the New York kneeling king is swathed in a long robe in contrast to the Fogg king's short tunic and low-slung belt of grelots. The Swansea Epiphany in London has much in common with the American reliefs although it is reversed; the same elements are in all of the panels. A Nativity-Adoration in the British Museum,²¹ dated about 1480, has the un-

usual feature of a fourth king, but otherwise is similar to the American alabasters.

Iconographically the composition of the Nativity-Adoration is peculiar to English alabasters.²² Combining the Nativity and Adoration in this manner was not done in ivories, wood sculptures or paintings. It is a limited Adoration compared to continental versions which usually incorporated some of the retinue of the Magi and often part of their Journey.²³ While considering the iconography of the alabaster Adorations, it should be pointed out that it changed toward the end of the period. In late retables the composite Nativity-Epiphany was abandoned in favor of a two-scene version in one of which Mary kneels before the Child. The second scene is the usual Gothic Adoration in which the enthroned Virgin receives the homage of the kings as exemplified in a retable with separate Nativity and Magi panels in Bordeaux.²⁴ Before the separation into two scenes however there was a change within the composite's organization. Published examples of transitional composites are rare but there is one in a private collection in Providence in which the Holy Family adores the Child on His wattled bed while all three kings stand in the background (Fig. 4). The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a late fifteenth-century composite in which the Virgin is no longer in bed but enthroned, and the other elements are rearranged.²⁵

The popularity of the alabaster reliefs causes speculation about the influences that formed the motifs. Because these reliefs are almost a folk-art produced for the rank and file, it is logical to look for con-

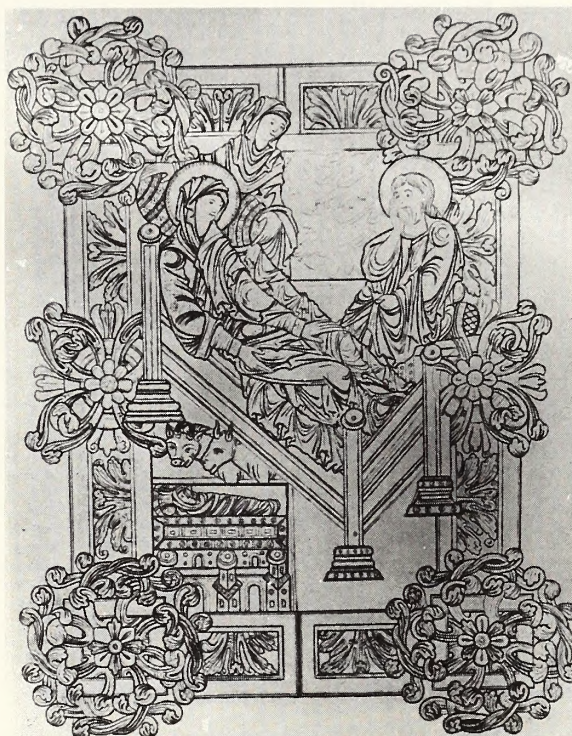


Fig. 5. Nativity
Benedictional of St. Aethelwold (repr. Homburger)

nections with other popular contemporary forms. Two medieval popular arts which could have influenced their design were the illustrated typologies and the liturgical drama. The schematic drawing of the typologies is close to the simplicity of the alabaster compositions (Fig. 6) but I doubt that any one manuscript was a specific archetype. Both the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, of which we reproduce the Schlettstadt copy in Munich, clm 146, have separate versions of the Nativity and the Epiphany; there is no composite of these subjects in the typologies.



Fig. 6. Nativity and Adoration of the Magi
Schlettstadt *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*
Munich (repr. Lutz and Perdrizet)



Fig. 6. Right half

Proving the influence of the Mystery Plays on the alabasters is as difficult as in the case of the typologies,²⁶ although some of the stage practices could explain the peculiarities of the composite Adorations. Emile Mâle believed that liturgical drama influenced representations of the Epiphany for centuries; he interpreted the gesture of one king pointing to the star as dramatic pantomime borrowed from the stage.²⁷ Elfrida Saunders attributed the lack of variation in the same scene of alabaster panels to the fact that the carvers used conventional stage settings of Mystery Plays as models.²⁸ W. L. Hildburgh, in emphasizing the influence of the stage

on alabaster Epiphanies, suggested that the ox and ass were portrayed by dummy heads (i.e., stage properties), which is a plausible explanation for their inevitable representation by heads only in the alabasters.²⁹ On undamaged alabaster Adorations there is a star fixed to the canopy as in the Rogers Adoration; this would be a practical way to support it in the Corpus Christi pageants.³⁰

Although some writers have belittled English alabaster reliefs as cheap shop-work on a level with today's Saint-Sulpice art,³¹ it is a mistake to scorn all alabaster reliefs because some are uninspired and hackneyed.³² In their day they were com-

missioned for popes and kings³³ and now they are treasured by museums and collectors. Careful organization in limited space of favorite New Testament subjects such as the Adoration of the Magi and skillful carving in the better panels

contribute to the significance of these sculptures as appealing works of art and rare records of medieval life.

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NOTES

¹W. L. Hildburgh, "Some Presumably Datable Fragments of an English Alabaster Retable . . . in Spain," *Antiquaries Journal*, 1944, p. 27.

²Anyone investigating English alabasters in American collections owes a debt to Augusta Tavender who published a catalogue of 79 pieces in two issues of *Speculum*: January, 1955; July, 1959.

³W. H. St. John Hope, "On the Early Working of Alabaster in England," *Archaeological Journal*, 1904, p. 221.

⁴Medieval records bear witness to the importance of the alabaster quarries at Chellaston near Nottingham. A specific document is an account of a trip made to Chellaston in 1414 by the representative of the Abbot of Fécamp in order to buy alabaster to be sent to France. (J. Bilson, "A French Purchase of English Alabaster in 1414," *Archaeological Journal*, 1907, p. 32.)

⁵An extant alabaster retable that can be dated by a contemporary document was taken to the shrine at Santiago de Compostela in 1456 by an English priest. (W. L. Hildburgh, "A Datable English Alabaster at Santiago de Compostela," *Antiquaries Journal*, 1926, p. 304.)

⁶A lawsuit of 1390 concerns a ship that sailed from Dartmouth for Seville loaded with "imagez d'alabastre, et autres merchendizes," (L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*, London, 1955, p. 192.)

⁷P. Biver, "Some Examples of English Alabaster Tables in France," *Archaeological Journal*, 1910, 66-87.

⁸Museum No. A. 89-1919. Cf. E. Maclagan, "An English Alabaster Altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Burlington Magazine*, February, 1920, p. 53.

⁹No. 1954.89. In an effort to explain the fine quality of the Fogg Adoration, Augusta Tavender suggested that it might have been recarved in Germany (*Speculum*, July, 1959). A comparison between the Fogg panel and the 142 German alabasters Georg Swarzenski published in the *Städtejahrbuch* (1921) fails to show a stylistic resemblance. The six German Epiphany figures in Swarzenski's survey are not composites with Nativities—there are no stable animals, no canopy, no couch, and rarely a figure of Joseph.

¹⁰English antiquarians had begun to publish notice of the numerous fragments of reliefs that were unearthed in nineteenth-century restorations of medieval churches, but no systematic study of all the reliefs was made. See E. Richardson, "Notices of Medieval Sculpture and Workings in Alabaster in England," *Archaeological Journal*, 1853, pp. 116-123.

¹¹V. Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, p. 21.

¹²C. de Marsy, "Les retables en albâtre," *Annuaire Normande*, 1897, p. 223.

¹³A. Bouillet, "La fabrication industrielle de retables en albâtre (XIV-XVe siècles)," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1901, pp. 45-62.

¹⁴W. H. St. John Hope, "On the Early Working of Alabaster in England," *Archaeological Journal*, 1904, pp. 221-240. The documentary evidence Hope gleaned from the *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* and the *Issue Rolls* has been the basis for all studies of the history of the alabaster trade. Some of Hope's data is more accessible in *Connoisseur*, May, 1954 (C. Pitman), and *Museums Journal*, March, 1962 (F. W. Cheetham).

¹⁵The countless alabasters that have been unearthed in England are silent witness to ancient outrage, to hasty efforts to conceal them and preserve them from being smashed or burned for plaster of Paris. Three alabasters were found under the floor of Flawford Church near Nottingham; another was found in the church at Long Melford. A Pietà was under the floor of Breadsall Church, Derbyshire. Fragments were found in church walls at Kettlebaston, Hadleigh and Freckenham. The British Museum has some alabasters found in a pond close to the abbey church, Selby.

¹⁶J. Squilbeck, "Quelques sculptures anglaises d'albâtre conservée en Belgique," *Antiquaries Journal*, 1938; M. A. Rostand, "Les albâtres anglais du XVe siècle en Basse-Normandie," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1928; J. Braun, "Die englischen Alabasteraltäre," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 1910; R. Papini, "Politici d'alabastro," *L'Arte*, 1910; J. Hernandez Perera, "Alabastros ingleses en Espana," *Goya*, 1958; P. Nelson, "English Medieval Alabaster Carvings in Iceland and Denmark," *Archaeological Journal*, 1920.

¹⁷An early attempt to date alabaster tables was published by E. S. Prior in the *Society of Antiquaries*'

catalogue (1913). Prior divided the reliefs into four "Classes" but did not make a clear distinction between Classification has been into three groups. See F. W. class III and IV. The most recent classification has been into three groups. See F. W. Cheetham, "English Medieval Altarpieces with Special Reference to Nottingham," *Museums Journal*, March, 1962, pp. 234-247.

¹⁸A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture*, Cambridge, 1951, Fig. 602.

¹⁹Biver, *op. cit.*, facing page 78.

²⁰Cheetham, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²¹E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge, 1912, Fig. 559.

²²H. Kehrler called it "Der Typus mit der liegenden Madonna" and believed it continued the ancient Syro-Byzantine collective type (H. Kehrler, *Die heiligen drei Könige*, Leipzig, 1909), Alabasters that Kehrler used to illustrate this type have since been published as *English alabasters*. Julius Baum writing about the earliest English alabaster Adorations said that the peculiarities of the composition were limited to England, and he pointed out that the alabaster reliefs on the continent came from England (*Art Bulletin*, 1933, p. 384).

²³Late thirteenth-century Italian pulpit reliefs come to mind in any study of composite Adorations, but comparison shows that they are much more comprehensive than the alabaster Epiphanies. For example, Guglielmo dell' Agnello's Adoration in S. Giovanni fuorcivitas, Pistoia, has the Holy Family and the Magi surrounded by the Annunciation to the Shepherds, midwives bathing the Child, and several sheep. The Virgin is recumbent and without a canopy to shelter her; heads of the stable animals are at the top of the composition.

²⁴J.-A. Brutails, *Album d'objets d'art existant dans l'églises de la Gironde*, Société Archéologique de Bordeaux, 1905, Plate 25.

²⁵No. 25.120.485. Gift of John D. Rockefeller, 1925.

²⁶O. E. Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1932. W. L. Hildburgh, "English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama," *Archaeologia*, 1949. The most comprehensive exhibition of alabaster reliefs since 1910 was arranged in 1954 in conjunction with a performance of the York Cycle of Mystery Plays.

²⁷E. Mâle, "Les rois mages et le drame liturgique," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1910, pp. 261-270.

²⁸Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

²⁹Hildburgh, *op. cit.*, p. 58, note 3.

³⁰It is thought that the pageants drawn in the Corpus Christi procession pantomimed the climax of the plays to be performed later; some of the pageants were shared by different plays (M. Rose, *Wakefield Plays*, London, 1961.). It would be natural for the Nativity pageant and the Adoration of the Magi to share the same cart. The combination of a simple, cozy Nativity tableau with the elegant kings of the Adoration scene could explain the two different moods noted in the alabaster Adorations.

³¹Rostand, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

³²The possession of English altarpieces by small parishes on the Breton-Norman coast is probably responsible for the misconception that the alabasters were cheap. These communities profited from the sale of alabasters which otherwise would have been destroyed. Hope quotes the churchwarden's account of St. Andrew's, Lewes, 1548: "Item recd of Thomas Senter who was put in trust by certen of the parish to make sale of thre aulters of alybaster to the frenche men in partys of payment of xxx s. whereupon they dyd . . ." (*Archaeological Journal*, 1904, p. 239).

³³The Papal Nuncio obtained a special license from Richard II to export four alabaster sculptures for the Pope in 1382 (Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 227). The Windsor records of 1367-69 show that Edward III paid Peter Maceon (mason) of Nottingham 200 pounds for alabaster tabula for chapels at Windsor (Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 224).

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY CLEMENS SOMMER

Clemens Sommer had published valuable findings on 15th and 16th century sculpture before he came to this country to join the faculty of a small and new department with few research facilities in history of art. With true concern for the welfare of his students, he put aside all hope of buying expensive research materials which would have enabled him to continue his own publishing career in favor of the basic study materials which are the first requirement for teaching. His chief aim was to develop that important feeling for the work of art which a student could take with him to further graduate study in the great research centers, as many did, or to the home where he would live and enjoy adding to his own and his community's experience. While thus virtually unaided, Dr. Sommer was too wise to endeavor to cover every aspect of a broad field of knowledge, but his teaching invariably instilled a curiosity which is fundamental to the search for knowledge.

Most of the works listed below were published before Dr. Sommer came to this country.

Die Anklage der Idolatrie gegen Papst Bonifaz VIII, und seine Portraitstatuen. Diss. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1920

Zur römischen Baugeschichte unter Ppust Bonifaz VIII. *Römische Quartalschrift*, Bd. 31, 1923, pp. 41-54

Spätgotische Holzbildwerke am Oberrhein in den Freiburger Sammlungen. *Berichte aus dem Freiburger Augustiner-Museum*. Heft 1, 1924, pp. 9-13

Mittelalterliche Kunst am Oberrhein: Ausstellung in der Kirche des Augustiner-Museum, Sept.-Okt., 1924. Katalog. Freiburg i. Br., 1924

Oberrheinische Madonnenstatuen. *Oberrheinisches Kunst*, Jahrg. I, 1925, pp. 13-16.

Ein Werk aus der Passauer Zeit des Nicolaus Gerhaert van Leyden. *Oberrheinisches Kunst*, Jahrg. II, 1926/27, pp. 29-35

Zur Anna-Selbdritt-Gruppe des Nikolaus Gerhaert van Leyden. *Berliner Museen*, Jahrg. 48, Heft 5, 1927, pp. 112-114

Ein Büstenreliquiar des Isenheimer Meisters. *Oberrheinisches Kunst*, Jahrg. II, 1926/27, pp. 147-148

Eine Madonnenfigur des Michael Pacher in der Stadtpfarrkirche zu Hall in Tirol. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. 48, 1927, pp. 226-229

Eine Madonnenfigur des Joerg Laderer. *Berliner Museen*, Jahrg. 49, Heft 4, 1928, pp. 94-97

Die sogenannte Johannesbüste in Zabern. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Jahrg. 63, Heft 5/6, 1929/30, pp. 143-145

Beiträge zum Werk des Bildschnitzers Hans Wydyz. *Oberrheinische Kunst*, Jahrg. III, 1928, pp. 94-104

Eine oberrheinische Plastik der "dunkeln Zeit". *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N.F., Bd. 36, 1934, pp. 55-60

Bemalte Wandbehänge aus dem Bezirk Kinnewald in Smaland. *Nordische Rundschau* Bd. 8, Heft 2, 1935, pp. 65-72

Der Meister des Kefermarkter Altares und Passau. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. 2, Heft 5, 1935, pp. 260-273

Der Meister des Breisacher Hochaltares. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. 3, Heft 4/5, 1936, pp. 245-274

Figurenbezeichnungen an spätgotischen Holzaltdären. *Deutsche Kunst- und Denkmalpflege*, Jahrg. XL, Heft 2/3, 1938, pp. 68/69

New Ways to Gauguin. *Magazine of Art*, v. 31, Sept., 1945, pp. 514-521

A Mother-of-Pearl Carving after the Master E. S. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, v. 5, 1942, pp. 122-124 (with R. A. Koch)

The Fine Arts, in: *A State University Surveys the Humanities*, ed. by L. C. MacKinney, N. B. Adams and H. K. Russell. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. 102-107 (The University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications)

A New Interpretation of Raphael's Disputa. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, sér. 6, v. 28, Nov., 1945, pp. 289-292

The Prophets of St. Antoine en Viennois. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, v. 13-14, 1950-51, pp. 8-19

Tintoretto's "Forge of Vulcan". *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, v. 1, no. 1, Spring, 1957, pp. 3-5

Bemerkungen zu Nicolaus von Leyden, *Kunstchronik*, bd. 13, 1960, pp. 284-286

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Enclosed are [illegible] and [illegible]
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NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Bulletin

VOLUME X

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SEPTEMBER 1970

<i>Aphrodite Unveiled by Cornelius Vermeule</i>	3
<i>Renoir's Girl Outdoors by Barbara Ehrlich White</i>	13



Fig. 1 Knidian Aphrodite (restored with head of the Medici type)
Liverpool Museums



Fig. 1a Knidian Aphrodite (different view)

APHRODITE UNVEILED

By Cornelius Vermeule
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

About 345 B.C. the celebrated Athenian sculptor Praxiteles created two statues in marble of Aphrodite, goddess of love and female beauty. One masterpiece showed her in chiton and perhaps himation, that is tunic and mantle, the traditional clothing of the Olympians. The second statue presented the goddess in the absolute nude, clutching the end of her cloak as she emerged from a sponging administered with the contents of a metal hydria or waterjug at her feet (Figs. 1, 1a). Knowingly or not, an epic moment had been reached in the unfolding saga of man's aesthetic creativity, the representation of the human figure in ancient art. After Praxiteles revealed this new concept of Aphrodite, no Greek artist dared to represent the goddess clothed, unless he were imitating an older work, one of before 400 B.C., or illustrating a tale in which it was necessary for her to be costumed.

The Roman critic Pliny the Elder wrote about 75 A.D. of these two statues by Praxiteles, in the thirty-sixth book of his *Natural History*: "But superior to all the works, not only of Praxiteles, but indeed in the whole world, is the Aphrodite which many people have sailed to Knidos in order to see. He made two statues and offered them for sale at the same time; one of them was represented with the body draped, for which reasons the people of Kos, whose choice it was (since he had put the same price on both) preferred it, judging that this was the sober and proper thing to do. The people of Knidos bought the rejected one, the fame of which became immensely greater. Later King Nikomedes (of Bithynia, 90 - 74 B.C.) wished to buy it from the Knidians, promising that he would cancel the city's whole debt, which was enormous. They preferred, however, to bear everything, and not without reason. For with that statue, Praxiteles made Knidos famous. Its shrine is completely open, so that it is possible to observe the image of the goddess from every side; she herself, it is believed, favored it being made that way. Nor is one's admiration of the statue less from any side."



Fig. 2 Head of the Knidian Aphrodite
Louvre Museum, Paris

Immediately after the rumor of Praxiteles' startling creation spread from the street of the Tripods in Athens, where the master had his studio almost in the shadow of the unfinished, abandoned archaic temple of the Olympian Zeus, his rival Skopas of Paros decided to carve an Aphrodite in the nude. Like the Knidian Aphrodite, his statue was lost in the darkness of later antiquity and the Middle Ages, and like the Knidia, we know the work of Skopas from a number of Roman copies. The most famous of these is the Medici Venus in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Another excellent copy, with the head poised more correctly, is the example

known in Rome in the sixteenth century and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 3). Skopas had to contribute something to the essentials of the subject, so he made Aphrodite's head smaller, her eyes more sunken in a less placid face, and the forms of the body fuller and certainly more overtly fleshy.

The last great sculptor of the fourth century naturally also felt constrained to try his hand at Aphrodite bereft of clothing. Lysippos was famed for his work in bronze, and his goddess, now also no longer extant, was perhaps the first of these creations in that medium. It is probably to

be identified in the numerous Roman marble copies of the type known from the principal replica as the Capitoline Venus, found long ago in the ruins of a town estate in Rome and for many decades the ornament of the Museo Capitolino on the hill where the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus once stood (Fig. 4). Another copy, found at Gabii due east of Rome on the road to Praeneste and of equally distinguished post-classical lineage, is in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (Fig. 5). Lysippos gave Aphrodite an elaborate

topknot that was to be the joy of Hellenistic sculptors, whether portraying the goddess standing, crouching at her bath, or in more supine poses. He also put more flesh on the figure, to compensate for which the body was made longer. This suited the new cannon of proportions which Lysippos had practiced in his statues of gods, heroes, and athletes.

In the Hellenistic age that followed the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) down to the final Roman subjugation of the Mediterranean world in 31 B.C. (the

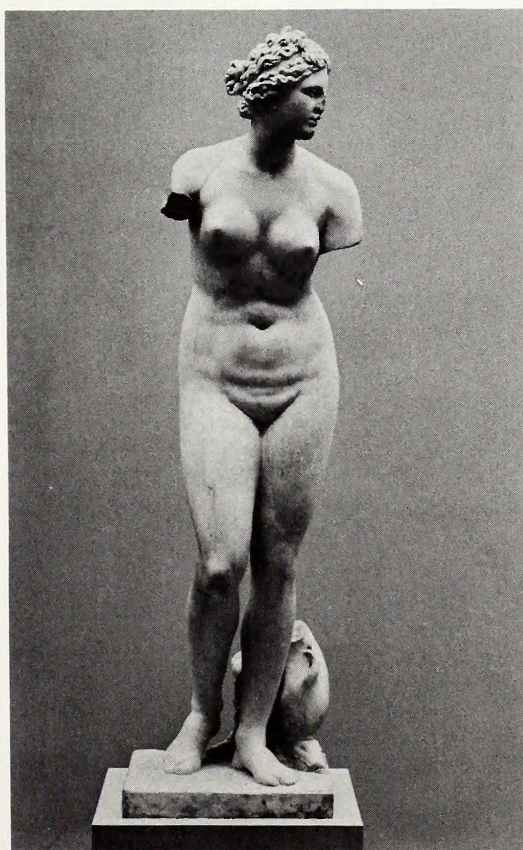


Fig. 3 Aphrodite of the Medici Type
Metropolitan Museum of Art
52.11.5; Fletcher Fund

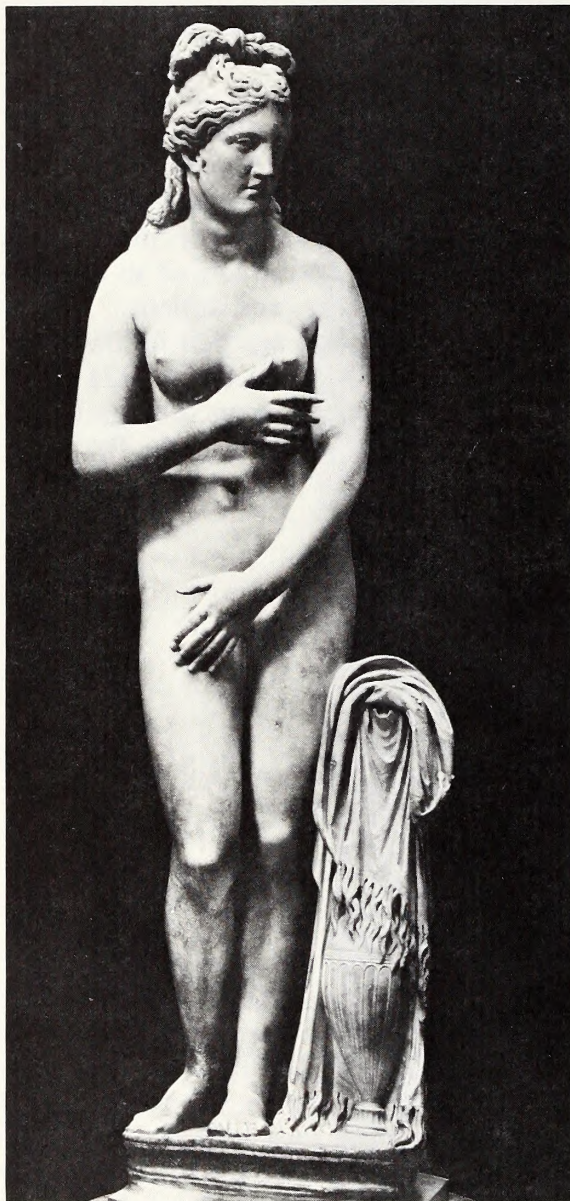


Fig. 5 Aphrodite (Capitoline type)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
H. L. Pierce Fund

Fig. 4 Aphrodite Known as the Capitoline Venus
Capitolino Museum, Rome

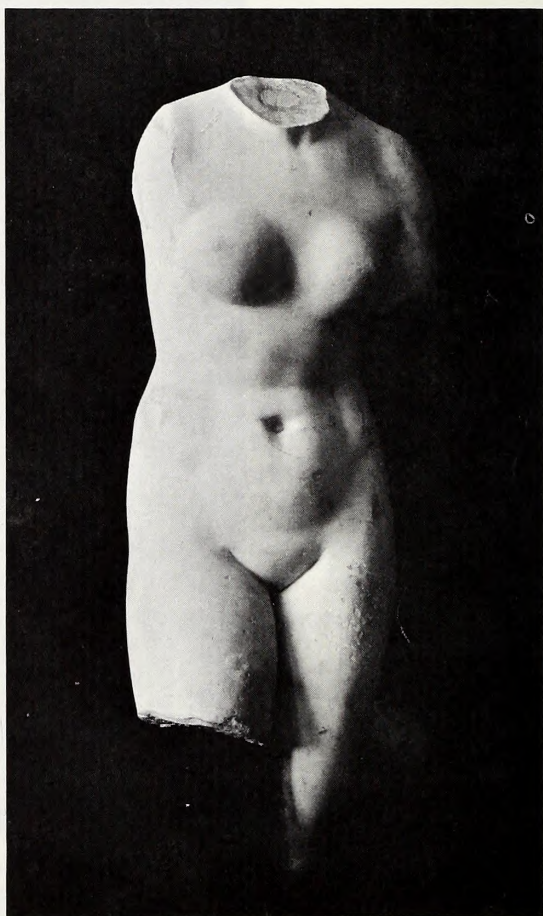




Fig. 6 Crouching Aphrodite, Attended by Eros
J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

death of Queen Cleopatra in Egypt), many artists essayed the theme of Aphrodite unveiled. Some of these sculptors, such as Doidalsas of Bithynia who made the most famous crouching Aphrodite (about 260 B.C.), are known by name and from various additional works (Fig. 6). Other masters of the chisel or the modeling stick must ever remain totally anonymous. All owed a great deal, directly or indirectly, to the Aphrodites made by the three great masters of the fourth century B.C.: Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos.

Among the anonymous works of the Hellenistic period in the tradition of the divine triad, few rise above the level of routine workshop sculpture, patent derivations or overt copies after the three most-imitated statues of the fourth century B.C. A new masterpiece revealed is an addition to the cultural heritage of the modern world. Such is the statue around which this essay has been written. Carved in shimmering white marble from the central Aegean islands, stone now turned yellowish with age, Aphrodite stands as a

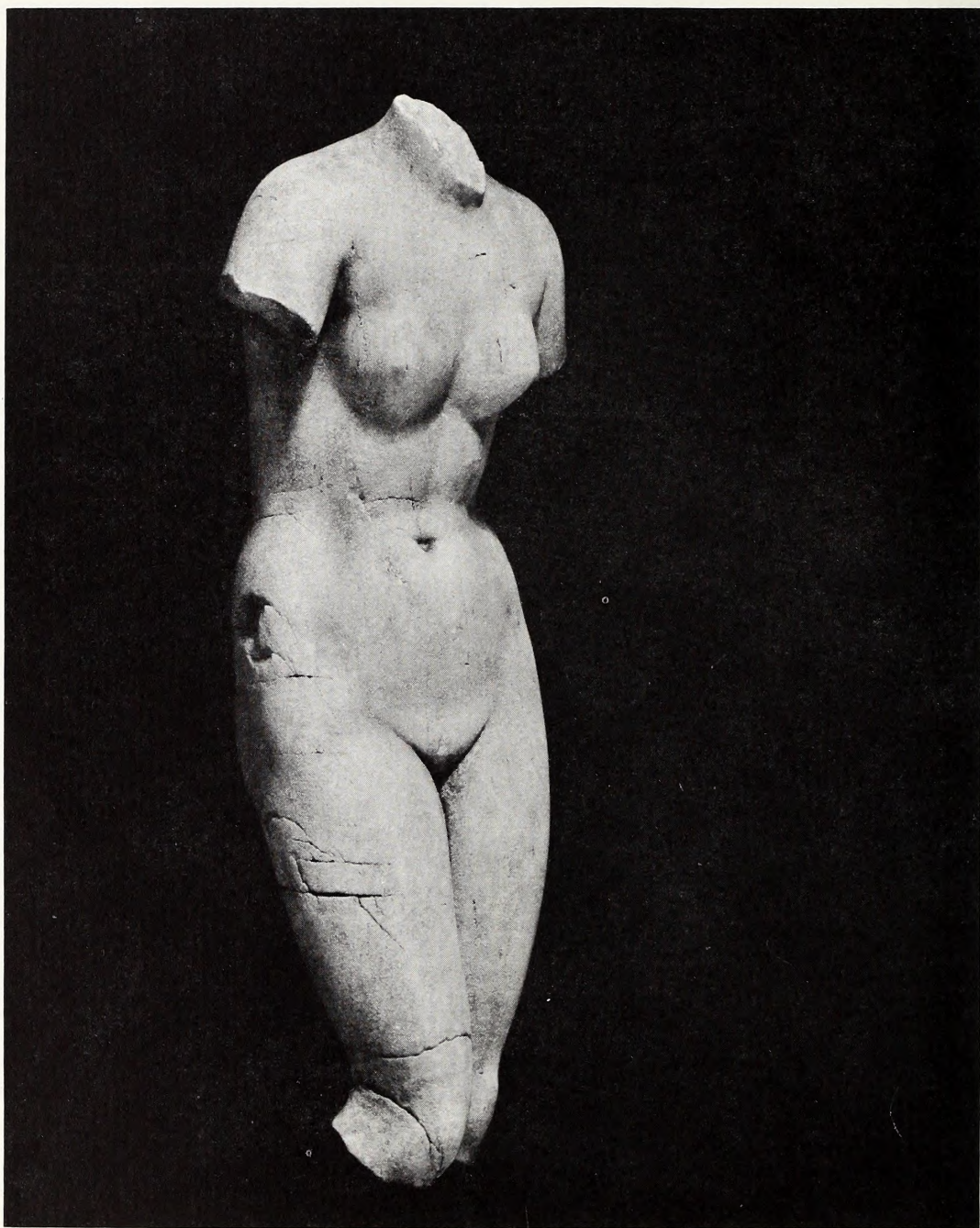


Fig. 7 Aphrodite (Greek, ca. 60 B. C.)
Parian Marble; h. 33"
Gift to NCMA of N. C. State Art Society

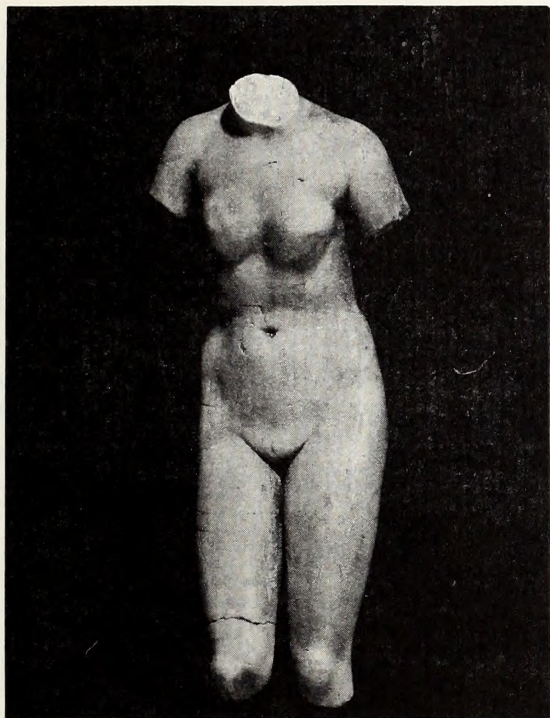


Fig. 8 NCMA Aphrodite (different view)

forceful yet delicate tribute to the persistent variability of the Greek imagination (Figs. 7-9). The sculptor of the late Hellenistic period, perhaps around 100 B.C., based his concept of Aphrodite on the Capitoline statue, the type identified here with Alexander the Great's court sculptor Lysippos.

Lysippos had built his fame on attenuation of the perfect human form. Sensing this, the anonymous master of the Aphrodite in North Carolina returned with the utmost delicacy of surfaces and underlying structure to the slender beauty of the fourth century that must have been manifest in the lost originals of the statues first discussed here. Perhaps these forms might have been present to a greater extent in

other statues of Aphrodite, now lost, by Lysippos and by his equally gifted contemporaries. Only a fraction of the great sculptures of antiquity have survived, whether in original, in adaptation, or in Graeco-Roman copy. One of these fortunate survivors is the Aphrodite presented here, a Greek original designed in its own time to provide a new concept of the goddess in a world of patronage where the Roman generals Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar ruled. Fortunately for the visual arts, this was also the world where Alexander the Great and his favorite sculptor were fondly remembered.

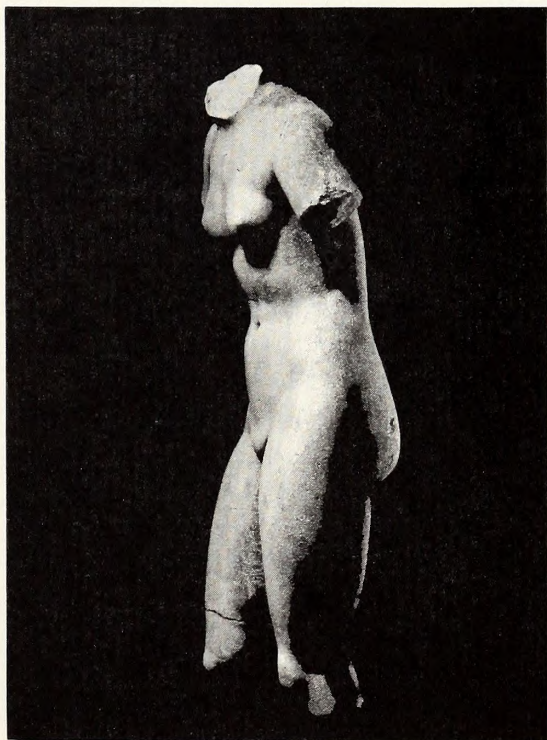


Fig. 9 NCMA Aphrodite (different view)

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND COMMENTS

The Aphrodites by Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos are most cogently discussed by Franklin P. Johnson, in *Lysippos*, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1927, pp. 55-57. The identifications proposed in this article are my own, under the influence of Professor Johnson, who gave the Capitoline Aphrodite to Skopas and (pp. 186-189) the Medici Aphrodite perhaps to Lysippos. I have merely reversed this sequence. The quotation from Pliny is that in the admirable book on ancient sources and modern understanding of them by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece, 1400-31 B.C.*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965, p. 128.

The Medici Aphrodite in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has been published by D. von Bothmer, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Guide to the Collections, Greek and Roman Art*, New York, 1964, pp. 28f., fig. 38. The Capitoline Aphrodite in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, can be found in L.D. Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, pp. 156-158, nos. 79 (torso), 80 (head). The crouching Aphrodite, once in the Sir Francis Cook collection at Richmond near London and

now in J. Paul Getty's museum at Malibu (California), was published by Mrs. E. S. Strong in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 28, 1908, p. 14, no. 16, and, more recently, in *Archeology* 8, 1955, p. 13 and J. P. Getty, *The Joys of Collecting*, New York, 1965, p. 70.

The version of the Knidian Aphrodite illustrated here is the statue known as the Stowe Aphrodite. It was once in the collection of the Duke of Buckingham and, for nearly a century after 1848, at the country seat of the Earls of Lonsdale, Lowther Castle, Westmoreland. The head shown separately is of such surpassing beauty that some have associated it with the original statue by Praxiteles. It was, however, found at (or brought to?) Tralles in the Maeander Valley far to the northeast of Knidos in Caria and spent many years in the Kaufmann collection in Berlin. Both the Lowther statue and the Kaufmann head are discussed and illustrated in Charles Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La sculpture*, III, 1, Paris, 1948, pp. 582-603, figs. 244-245, 258-259. Two further articles may be cited: C. Alexander, "A Statue of Aphrodite," *The*

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin 11, May 1953, pp. 241-251 (on the Medici-type statue in New York), and B. M. Felletti Maj, "<< Afrodite pudica >> . Sag-

gio d'arte ellenistica," *Archeologia Classica* 3, 1951, pp. 33-65, containing lists of copies of the Medici and Capitoline Aphrodites.



Fig. 1 Auguste Renoir (Fr., 1841-1919)
Girl Seated in a Landscape, ca. 1916
Oil on canvas; 9¼" x 11¾"
Gift to NCMA of American Credit Corp.,
Charlotte in memory of Guy T. Carswell

RENOIR'S GIRL OUTDOORS, A STYLISTIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL ANALYSIS¹

By Barbara Ehrlich White
Assistant Professor of Art History
Tufts University

In 1967, the North Carolina Museum of Art acquired the *Girl Seated in a Landscape* (Fig. 1) by Pierre Auguste Renoir (born 1841; died 1919). This delightful painting, made around 1916, a few years before the artist's death, is an excellent example of Renoir's late style. Looking at the picture, we may wonder how Renoir treated this same theme, the clothed full-length girl seated or standing outdoors, throughout his artistic career. By studying one or more characteristic paintings from each of the five preceding decades, we shall discover how Renoir transformed his style in pictures similar to the *Girl Seated in a Landscape*.²

By taking a preliminary look at representative examples of a clothed girl outdoors from the 1860's through the 1910's (Figs. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15) we can

see common features and general areas of stylistic change before studying the individual works.

Among the nine paintings chosen we find common features of form and composition. Every picture shows a large-scale figure, close to us, posed in a stable, yet potentially active position. By her posture, each girl has a closed silhouette with her hands within the form of her torso. Each figure holds something in one or both hands—an umbrella and handkerchief, a watering can and flowers, a tambourine, flowers, a hoop and stick, a towel, clothing. Each figure's costume is enlivened by scallops, buttons, bows, ribbons, or pliant folds. When visible, each girl's feet are either close together or cross one another. Each figure seems very much alone—whether she looks to the side, at us, or is self-absorbed. Every girl's posture and clothing contribute to create a stable composition of horizontal, vertical, and diagonals that are echoed in the landscape.

General areas of stylistic change among the nine Renoirs of the 1860's through the 1910's include changes in the treatment of the figure and changes in the relationship between the figure and its landscape background. The pictures vary between a formal and a formless treatment of the girl. In the formal treatments (Figs.

2, 6, 10, 12, 14), the figure has much substance and finish; she is separate from the landscape; the artist concentrates on the beauty of the form, line, and silhouette. On the other hand, in the formless (impressionist) treatments (Figs. 1, 4, 9, 15), the body lacks finish; the figure merges with the landscape so there is more unity



Fig. 2 Auguste Renoir
Lise with a Parasol, 1867
71½" x 44½"
Folkwang Museum, Essen



Fig. 3 Gustave Courbet (Fr., 1819-1877)
Village Maidens (or Young Ladies from the Village)
 Oil on canvas; 76 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 102 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Gift of Harry Payne Bingham, 1940

of the figure and setting; Renoir emphasizes the beauty of the color, light, and stroke.

While the pendulum seems to swing back and forth between formal and formless figures, Renoir never repeated an earlier style. He always sought new representations of the theme. In his continual search for artistic progress, he was constantly guided by the great art of the past that he studied at the Louvre and else-

where. As we shall see, Renoir was influenced by different past masters in the various stages of his development.

Now, looking more closely at representative pictures of each decade, comparing them to Renoir's preceding work, and noting a traditional source of inspiration, we can trace transformations in Renoir's painting of the clothed girl outdoors. Our earliest painting is *Lise with a Parasol* (Fig. 2) of 1867, a large work which the



Fig. 4 Auguste Renoir
Little Girl with a Watering Can, 1876
39½" x 28¾"
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
(Chester Dale Collection)

artist executed when he was twenty-six years old. Lise was Renoir's model and companion in the late 1860's and early 1870's. Renoir's painting was acclaimed at the Salon of 1868 for the realism of the life-size figure. Lise's large body is clearly silhouetted against the indefinite landscape. The composition is quite stable with an obvious balance between diagonals, horizontals, and verticals: the diagonals of the umbrella handle which continues down to Lise's right hand and the parallel direction of her glance and hat; the horizontals of her belt, right cuff, neck trim, and upper right tree branch; the verticals of the large trees, the girl's stance, and her costume's black and red neck trim. Convex and concave edges relate Lise's body to the foremost tree. At the same time she is tied to the landscape by the light which filters through the trees and falls on her body and on the woodland setting.

In *Lise with a Parasol*, Renoir was influenced by Courbet's *Village Maidens* (Fig. 3) of 1851, a painting that Renoir could have seen at the Salons of 1852 and 1855 as well as in other Paris exhibitions in 1862 and 1867. *Lise* is reminiscent of the *Village Maidens* in several respects: both are large paintings where the bodies of the women are dense, solid, and realistic. In the treatment of light and color, Renoir follows Courbet in having a wide value range from light to dark, an emphasis on light-dark contrasts, and black in the shadows. Also, like Courbet, Renoir uses a predominance of dark earth tones with few different colors in large areas. The figure of Lise comes closest to Courbet's central girl in her white dress, her frontal



Fig. 5 Antoine Watteau (Fr., 1684-1721)
Young Woman Playing the Mandolin
10" x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ "
Louvre Museum, Paris

standing posture, her glance three-quarters to her right, and her umbrella over her left shoulder.

A characteristic girl outdoors of the 1870's is the *Little Girl with a Watering Can* (Fig. 4) of 1876. Here we sense a blending of the girl and garden brought about by a new impressionist treatment of the brushstroke, light, and color. The visible stroke vibrates throughout the image as a flicker of light and color dissolving the girl's physical substance, blurring the contour of her legs and hands, and obscuring the details of her face. As a conse-

quence, the *Little Girl*, unlike *Lise*, shows no substantial realistic form and no precise finished details.

While *Lise* had a wide value range from light to dark and much dark-light contrast, the *Little Girl* is more monotone in effect. Renoir now concentrates on light values throughout the image, and he eliminates pure blacks and dark tones in the shadows. The *Little Girl* appears more colorful than *Lise* even though we see no pure color areas. The dominant tonality, blue, pervades the picture. Yet reds, oranges, greens, beiges, and reflections of these hues flicker throughout.

While the impressionist innovations were a result of experiments by Renoir and his impressionist friends, other aspects of the *Little Girl* were inspired by rococo paintings, such as Watteau's *Young Woman Playing the Mandolin* (Fig. 5) at the Louvre. Renoir's *Little Girl*, like the Watteau, is a small painting where the doll-like figure is delicate and insubstantial. Both artists are more interested in portraying the figure's elaborate dress than in the physical features of her face, hands, or body. Renoir, like Watteau, uses warm bright color to heighten the freshness and decorativeness of his painting.

In the 1880's, Renoir's painting shows great variety as can be seen by looking at our three examples from this decade (Figs. 6, 9, 10). This diversity is in part a result of Renoir's growing dissatisfaction with his impressionist figure style. In the late 1870's, Renoir began to seek an alternative to his dissolving large-scale figures—an alternative that would enable him to



Fig. 6 Auguste Renoir
Italian Girl with Tambourine, 1881
31" x 13½"
Siegfried Rosengart Collection, Lucerne

Fig. 7 Ancient fresco from Herculaneum
Medea
 54" x 17"
 National Museum, Naples



restore physical beauty, yet retain impressionist light, rich color, and vitality. To see how his evolving style of the early 1880's relates to that of the 1870's, compare the *Little Girl* of 1876 with the *Italian Girl with a Tambourine* (Fig. 6) of 1881. Clearly Renoir gives the *Italian Girl* of 1881 more substance, a clearer silhouette, and more precise detail. Some of these changes are due to a more restricted use of the visible stroke.

Looking further at the *Italian Girl*, we see that like *Lise with a Parasol* (Fig. 2), painted fourteen years earlier, the *Italian Girl* is a monumental weighty figure distinct from her environment. Yet the *Italian Girl* differs from *Lise* in important respects. The *Italian Girl* has a pervasive light and a vivid color scheme. There is a loss of naturalism and a new formal design: the crossing of the feet, scarf, hands, and the circular pattern of the tambourine, face, and blouse folds.

Certain innovations of the *Italian Girl*—not seen in Renoir's earlier figures—suggest that the artist was becoming more classical. The *Italian Girl* was painted in the winter of 1881 during Renoir's trip to Italy,³ at a time when the painter was especially impressed with the Pompeian and Herculaneum frescoes at the Naples Museum and with the Raphael frescoes in Rome. In fact, it is possible to relate the *Italian Girl* to some of the ancient frescoes that Renoir saw on his trip. Like the figure in the Naples fresco *Medea* (Fig. 7), who also leans against a wall, the *Italian Girl* has a solidly drawn body. Her almond shaped eyes are precisely defined by a sharp line. Her drapery falls in large simple folds. Her clear broad silhouette is composed of long straight and rounded



Fig. 8 Raphael (It., 1483-1520)
Poetry (Medallion of Vault)
 Vatican, Rome

lines. Like Raphael's *Poetry* (Fig. 8), who also holds a musical instrument, the *Italian Girls* has crossed legs and a fluffy peasant blouse.

Several years after the Italian trip, in the mid-1880's, two different directions are apparent in Renoir's treatment of the theme of the clothed full-length girl outdoors: one, *Summer* (Fig. 9), recalls earlier impressionist figures while the other, *Girl with a Hoop* (Fig. 10), is formal and linear.

Summer (Fig. 9) of 1884 in some respects recalls the *Little Girl with a Watering Can* (Fig. 4) of 1876. The formless

figure merges with the imprecise landscape. The girl has no substance, no outline, no precision of her face or hands. Yet she appears stable because her white jacket parallels the white vertical tree. The picture has a rococo lightness, sweetness, and delicacy reminiscent of Watteau (Fig. 5).

In other respects, Renoir explores fresh ideas in *Summer*. *Summer* has a new rhythmic and decorative play of different kinds of visible strokes in the landscape and on the figure. Thick impasto dots suggest flowers that the girl holds and flowers that grow on the hillside. Hatching strokes in parallel patches—recalling Cézanne's treatment of strokes—intimate grass,



Fig. 9 Auguste Renoir
Summer, 1884
32" x 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Ittleson Collection, New York



Fig. 10 Auguste Renoir
Girl with a Hoop, 1885
 49½ x 30⅞"
 National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
 (Chester Dale Collection)

leaves, and sky. Long strokes signify bows of the girl's red belt, of her green-blue hat ribbon, and of her white-yellow collar, while delicate hatching strokes of reflected colors lightly play on the white jacket and blue skirt. When compared to the *Little Girl*, we also see that *Summer* has more richly varied colors that flicker throughout the picture.

The *Girl with a Hoop* (Fig. 10) of 1885 represents a different direction of artistic exploration—one that has a new linear emphasis. The artist draws our attention to the outline of form by juxtaposing areas that have a different degree of finish and a different predominant color. The most precisely painted areas are the pinkish-beige face, hands, legs, and hoop; the next, the whitish-blue costume, brown hair, and blue shoes; the least, the green-orange-pink impressionist setting where



Fig. 11 Jean Ingres (Fr., 1780-1867)
Mlle. Riviere
 39⅜ x 27½"
 Louvre Museum, Paris



Fig. 12 Auguste Renoir
Girl Wiping Her Feet, ca. 1890
26" x 20"
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Grover A. Magnin,
San Francisco

we see hatching and dotting strokes. The colors are rather pale and chalky, and contrasting areas are found in the girl's darker hair and shoes.

In his concentration on line, Renoir was influenced by Ingres in the mid-1880's. If we compare Ingres' *Mlle. Rivière* (Fig. 11) at the Louvre with Renoir's *Girl with a Hoop*, we see that Renoir follows Ingres in his concentration on the outline. The rhythmical silhouette of Ingres' fur boa seems a likely source for Renoir's hoop; the horizontal ribbon under *Mlle. Rivière's* bust, a source for the

little girl's horizontal sash. Both figures have an immediate glance and pierced lips suggesting aristocratic refinement. In general terms, we can say that Renoir learns from Ingres: to treat form graphically using the rhythmical silhouette for the surface design; to give decorativeness precedence over the literal content; and to achieve form that is partially linear and partially sculptural, that is partially abstract and partially real.

In the 1890's and 1900's, Renoir's painting continues to change. *Girl Wiping her Feet* (Fig. 12) of about 1890 and *Seated Girl in a Landscape* (Fig. 14) of



Fig. 13 Ancient statue
Victory of Samothrace
Louvre Museum, Paris



Fig. 14 Auguste Renoir
Seated Girl in a Landscape, ca. 1900
 15" x 11"
 Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

about 1900 are both small paintings, yet they have a new feeling of monumentality. In some ways these seated girls follow *Summer* (Fig. 9) of 1884: the figures are harmoniously placed within their surroundings; they share a uniform lightness with the landscape; and visible strokes play throughout—yet, in the 1890's and 1900's, the strokes also help create solid bodies.

A source of inspiration for the new massive, voluminous, yet fleshy quality of the girls' torsos may have been ancient statuary, such as the Louvre's *Victory of Samothrace* (Fig. 13). In painting the girls, Renoir explores the projecting and receding planes of the body as if he were sculpturing.

The girls' postures are now, for the first time, relaxed and graceful. A fluid

arabesque ties together the arms and legs, costume and body. The figures exude health and life. Contributing to this effect of vitality is a new warmth and richness of color in the oranges, reds, and yellows.

The final step in our progression is to Renoir's late style of the 1910's. Our example, the North Carolina Museum's *Girl Seated in a Landscape* (Fig. 1) is not dated. However, stylistic affinities with *Young Girl in a Garden* (Fig. 15) of around 1916 make the same dating most likely. Both pictures are small and were executed when Renoir was about seventy-five years old and crippled with rheumatism.

The North Carolina painting shows a girl seated in profile in a wooded landscape lush with greenery. At first glance we see affinities here with earlier formless impressionist paintings like the *Little Girl with a Watering Can* (Fig. 4) of 1876 and *Summer* (Fig. 9) of 1884, yet now Renoir's style is much freer and more direct.

When looking for a traditional prototype for this late Renoir, we might recall Rubens' late paintings. If we compare the North Carolina *Girl Seated* with the late Rubens' *Helene Fourment and her Children* (Fig. 16)⁴ at the Louvre, we note similarities in the old-age styles of the two masters: a sketchy handling of color,



Fig. 15 Auguste Renoir
Young Girl in a Garden, ca. 1916
15¾" x 20"
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. William Goetz,
Los Angeles



Fig. 16 Peter Paul Rubens (Flem., 1577-1640) *Helene Fourment and Her Children* 44½" x 32¼"
Louvre Museum, Paris

light, and stroke and a dissolving lightness of tactile form.

The North Carolina *Girl Seated* shows a new freedom in the treatment of color, light, and stroke. The color is warm and richly varied with vibrant whites, oranges yellows, greens, blues, and browns. A pearly iridescence, that has a jewel-like

shimmer, lends a unique vitality to the small painting. Light pervades every color and suggests a warm summer day. Renoir's impulsive and loose stroke reveals a directness of execution. The large sweeping rhythms of the whole image suggest a unity of color, light, stroke, and form, a unity of girl and nature, and a unity of art and life.

NOTES

1. For financial assistance in my Renoir studies, I would like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and the Tufts University Faculty Research Fund. I would also like to thank Miss Helen Tucker for helping me obtain the photographs, and my husband, Professor Leon S. White of M. I. T. for his editorial comments.

2. This article deals with stylistic changes in a specific theme. No attempt is made to analyze why Renoir's art changes this way, how his art changes in other themes, or how these changes relate to stylistic trans-

formations by the artist's contemporaries. Such topics are being treated by the author in a book she is now writing on Renoir.

3. See Barbara E. White, "Renoir's Trip to Italy," *Art Bulletin*, Vol. LI, No. 4, December, 1969.

4. In the early 1870's, Renoir had copied a detail of Rubens' *Helene Fourment and her Children*. See K. E. Maison, *Themes and Variations: Five Centuries of Master Copies and Interpretations*, London, 1960, pl. 215f.

NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Bulletin

VOLUME X

NUMBER 2

DECEMBER 1970

Landscape with the Flight into Egypt by Isabel Combs Stuebe	3
Four Important Morris Graves Paintings by Larry L. Ligo	15

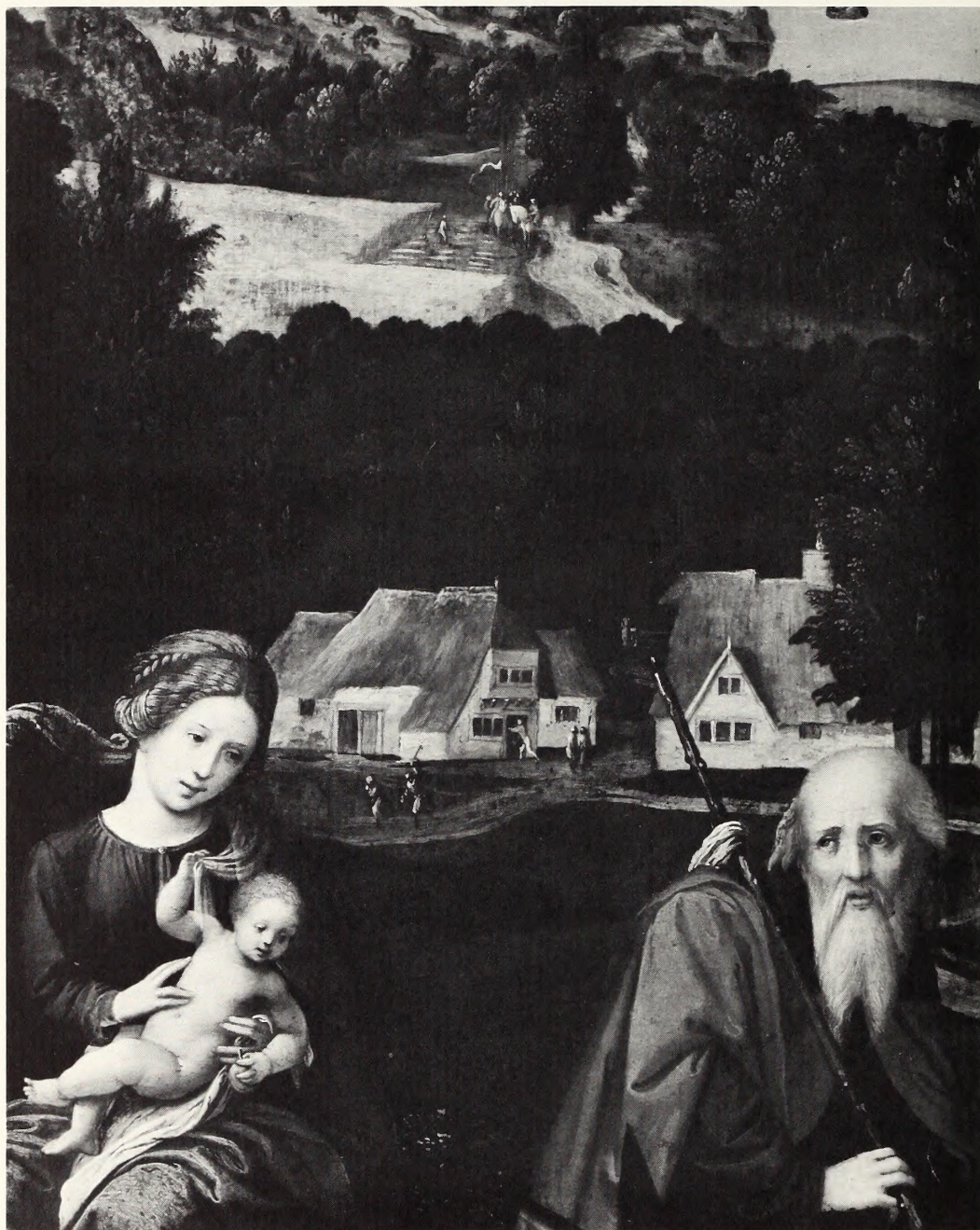


Fig. 1 Master of the Half-Lengths
Landscape with the Flight into Egypt (detail)
Panel; 25½" x 25"
Phifer Funds

LANDSCAPE WITH THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT: PATINIR OR THE MASTER OF THE HALF-LENGTHS?

By Isabel Combs Stuebe
Ford Foundation Fellow
Institute of Fine Arts
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One of the finest and, until recently, most problematic paintings in the North Carolina Museum of Art is the *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (cover illustration) which has been variously attributed to Joachim Patinir or to his anonymous follower, the Master of the Half-Lengths, or to both in collaboration. Although most art historians have been reluctant to exclude the possibility that Patinir's hand is evident at least in the landscape, Robert A. Koch's recently published book entitled *Joachim Patinir* (Princeton University Press, 1968) offers conclusive evidence that the Raleigh picture is entirely by the Master of the Half-Lengths.

Acquired by the museum in 1952 from the collection of the Marchese Gentile, Genoa, the panel (25½ by 25 inches) is a beautifully preserved example of the landscape style which flourished in Ant-

werp during the first half of the sixteenth century. Despite the fact that the painter has chosen to emphasize the landscape in his composition, he was forced by tradition to give the picture a religious subject. The narrative of the Flight into Egypt is found in the Gospel of Matthew 2:13-14: "Now when they (the wise men) had departed, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said, 'Rise, take the child and his mother, and flee to Egypt, and remain there till I tell you; for Herod is about to search for the child, to destroy him.' And he rose and took the child and his mother by night, and departed to Egypt."

The artist has depicted the Holy Family in the foreground traveling on the road to Egypt against a landscape dotted with tiny figures and houses typical of the Flemish countryside. A closer look at the figures shows that more than one Biblical episode is depicted. Just to the right of the Virgin's head in the middle distance (Fig. 1), is an illustration of the Massacre of the Innocents. Taken from Matthew 2:16, the text reads: "Then Herod, when



Fig. 2 Joachim Patinir (Fl. 1485-1524)
Landscape with the Flight into Egypt
 6¾" x 8¼"
 Antwerp Museum

he saw that he had been tricked by the wise men, was in a furious rage, and he sent and killed all the male children in Bethlehem, and in all that region who were two years old or under, according to the time which he had ascertained from the wise men." This episode is illustrated by one soldier entering a farm house and another chasing a woman who flees with her child.

Farther in the distance are more soldiers on horseback confronting a man who stands in a wheatfield (Fig. 1). This minute scene also depicts an event related to the journey of the Holy Family called the

Miracle of the Wheatfield. Although the source of this episode has not been discovered, it was known in the late Middle Ages and became quite popular in the fifteenth century. According to the legend, soon after leaving Bethlehem the Holy Family came to a man sowing wheat in a field near the road. The Virgin stopped and asked him to say to anyone inquiring after a man and woman with a child that they had passed when he was sowing the wheat. That night the wheat grew up miraculously and the farmer was harvesting the grain as the soldiers approached on the following day. When Herod's men asked about the fugitives, the farmer an-

swered that they had passed when he was sowing the wheat. On hearing this the soldiers gave up their search and returned to Jerusalem.¹

Also of iconographic significance is the little scene in the left middle distance of the picture (cover illustration), which illustrates the Miracle of the Date-Palm. Taken from the eighth or ninth century account of the infancy of Christ known as pseudo-Matthew, the miracle occurred on the third day of the journey when the Virgin stopped to rest under the shade of a palm tree. Seeing that the tree was filled with dates, she asked Joseph to fetch her some fruit. As Joseph was unable to reach the branches, the Christ Child commanded the tree to bend so that the Virgin might have some of its fruit.² In the painting Joseph is shown reaching up to pick dates from the bowed branches of the tree while the Virgin sits on the ground with the Child on her lap.

Besides these four narrative episodes, the painting contains a wealth of detail which may or may not be significant to the theme of the Flight into Egypt. Notably the geographical setting is not Palestine or Egypt but the Flemish countryside with its characteristic thatch-roof houses with gables and a mill with a water wheel. Likewise the crenelated castle and the Gothic spires in the far distant city reflect the painter's tendency to choose details from his own environment. Other elements, however, may have significance with regard to the Biblical narrative. For example, the skyline of the distant city includes one building which is certainly not taken from the repertoire of Flemish architecture. This large circular building with a round dome and two towers is

Romanesque in style. Traditionally Romanesque architecture was equated with the East and non-Christian cultures; hence the domed building was very probably intended to represent an Egyptian temple in the city of Hermopolis towards which the Holy Family was traveling. Similarly the man on horseback in front of the mill at the right suggests the Orient by virtue of his turban and white robe.

One other detail which may be of iconographic significance is the flock of sheep grazing on the hillside below the castle. Since the Lamb is the symbol of Christ,

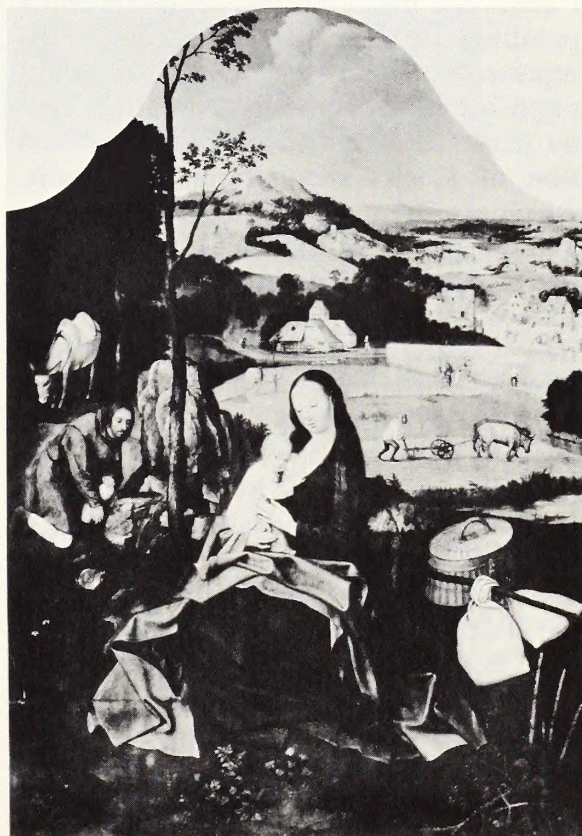


Fig. 3 Joachim Patinir
Triptych with the Rest on the Flight, central panel
28 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 19 $\frac{5}{8}$ "
Collection of Willy Kaus, Frankfurt

the artist may have included the sheep in order to emphasize the role of Christ as Savior of the world. This would reinforce the idea that the apple which the Christ Child holds is the fruit of salvation in the hand of the new Adam who came into the world to take on the burden of man's sins.

The theological references implied by the apple, the Romanesque temple and the various legends related to the Flight into Egypt were all part of the stock vocabulary used by Flemish painters of the early sixteenth century. In the case of Patinir and his pupils and followers many paintings are so similar in style and in the representation of these details that it has often been impossible to distinguish master from follower. Only since the publication of Koch's monograph on Patinir, which also treats his workshop followers, and the Master of the Half-Lengths, have the problems of this important group of sixteenth century landscapes been clarified. Of the forty-nine paintings which Koch includes in his catalogue raisonné, he feels only nineteen are from Patinir's own hand, while seventeen others are from the workshop or by later followers. In a separate chapter devoted to the Master of the Half-Lengths, the only artist of distinction among the followers, Koch lists thirteen pictures which form a tentative, though admittedly incomplete, catalogue of the Master's landscape paintings. The first picture in the catalogue is the *Raleigh Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*, which Koch describes as "a mature masterpiece entirely by the hand of the Master of the Half-Lengths."³ Interestingly, four other paintings in the catalogue of the Master's works depict events related to the Flight into Egypt, all of which are

very much influenced by three versions of the theme by Patinir.

Biographical information about Patinir and his anonymous follower, the Master of the Half-Lengths, is sadly lacking; however, after carefully reconsidering the material available, Koch has been able to provide a tenable outline of Patinir's career and his relationship with the Half-Length Master.⁴ According to the records of the painters' guild of Antwerp, one "Jochim Patenier, scildere" was admitted as a member in 1515, and the city records list his wife as a widow on October 5, 1524. Albrecht Dürer mentions Patinir several times in the diary of his trip to the Netherlands in 1520-21. The two artists apparently became good friends, and Dürer made a portrait sketch of Patinir during his stay in Antwerp. Although the drawing does not survive, an engraving based on it by Cornelis Cort suggests that Patinir was in his late thirties in 1520-21. This would indicate that he must have been born about 1485. Koch points out that at his death in 1524, the painter would only have been about forty years old, thus perhaps explaining why so few pictures can be attributed to him.

Patinir's early life and training are likewise largely matters of speculation. The question of his birthplace has long been disputed since Guiccardini's 1567 biography of painters of the Low Countries states that the painter was born in Bouvignes, and the slightly later accounts of Lampsonius and Van Mander give the town of Dinant. Although Koch feels that the latter is more plausible, the question is largely irrelevant, since both towns are located close together in the Meuse Valley, famous for its spectacular rock formations,



Fig. 4 Joachim Patinir
Rest on the Flight
47½" x 69½"
Prado, Madrid

which must have inspired the jagged peaks so often found in Patinir's landscapes.

More important is the problem of his early training and activity before entering the Antwerp guild in 1515. Since Patinir's works reflect the influence of Gerard David and Adriaen Isenbrandt, it is generally suggested that he might have worked with these artists in Bruges. Koch feels, however, that David's influence on the early works has been overemphasized. Rather he sees the art of Hieronymus Bosch as the formative influence on Patinir's style in terms of "his basic orientation to landscape, a preference in subject matter for penitent saints in the wilderness, numerous formulae and iconographical details, and even to a certain

degree his technique of painting."⁵ Hence Koch would suggest that Patinir's early training took place in Antwerp where a number of Boschian paintings were available for study.

This thesis is supported by the earliest known works of Patinir, probably executed before his entry into the Antwerp guild in 1515, one of which is a small *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 2). Bosch's influence can be seen in the high bird's-eye view of the countryside which allows the painter to include a maximum of landscape detail. According to the cartographic tradition of the period, Patinir employed a dual system of perspective in which horizontal elements (fields and bodies of water) are seen from



Fig. 5 Master of the Half-Lengths
Rest on the Flight
 33" x 23½"
 Courtesy of the John G. Johnson Collection,
 Philadelphia

above, while vertical elements (houses and rocks) are seen at eye level. The illusion of depth is increased by dividing the painting coloristically: reddish-brown for the foreground, green for the middle distance, and blue for the far distance.

This small panel is one of the first examples of what may be called the "independent landscape" in Flemish art, since the figures of the Holy Family are purely incidental to the landscape. The subject and approach, as well as many of the details like the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents, the Miracle of the Wheatfield,

and two swans on the mill pond confirm the source of many elements in the Raleigh picture.

Between 1515 and 1519 Patinir executed a triptych, the central panel of which illustrates the Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 3). As opposed to the earlier *Landscape with the Flight* (Fig. 2), the painter has put large-scale figures of the Virgin and Child in the foreground. Koch points out that this shift towards a more pretentious type of composition with figures dominating the landscape and the motif of the basket and bundles reflect the

influence of Gerard David, who was also active in Antwerp at that time. The background of the picture is enlivened with genre farm scenes as well as the now familiar Massacre of the Innocents and the Miracle of the Wheatfield.

The same details are found in a third *Rest on the Flight* (Fig. 4) executed by Patinir about 1520. The Virgin, which Koch feels was probably painted by Quentin Massys, is seated with the basket and saddle bag still life in the center of a wide landscape. The right side of the landscape is devoted to the episodes of the Miraculous Wheatfield and the Massacre of the Innocents, accompanied by the usual genre scenes. In the left side of the landscape Joseph is seen carrying a cooking pot, and in the distance there is a fantastic Romanesque domed structure. Architecturally similar to the one in the Raleigh picture, the building in Patinir's *Rest on the Flight* is clearly identified as an Egyptian temple by the idol falling from the square tower at the left of the dome. This illustrates a miracle found in the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew, Chapters 22 and 23, which states that when the Virgin and Child entered the temple in Egypt all the idols fell down in fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah 19:1 "Behold, the Lord shall come upon a swift cloud and shall enter into Egypt, and all (the idols) prepared by the hands of the Egyptians shall be removed before his face."⁶

At the right side of the pagan temple is an altar on which a goose is about to be sacrificed, a motive which Koch noted is taken from Bosch's *Triptych of St. Anthony*. Although this is the only specifically Boschian element to appear in Patinir's representations of the Flight into

Egypt, in the late works by Patinir the iconography and pessimistic mood of Bosch are pervasive. These Koch justly terms Patinir's masterpieces in the depiction of infinite space, for only at the end of his career did the artist succeed in combining Boschian subjects with his own dramatic landscape panoramas.

Since the achievements of Patinir's latest landscapes are reflected in the work of the Master of the Half-Lengths, Koch feels that the unknown painter was probably trained in the early 1520's, very possibly in Patinir's studio, in view of his almost wholesale adoption of the Antwerp painter's iconography and approach to landscape. About the same time the Master of the Half-Lengths developed a highly personal figure style based on that of Bernart van Orley. This figure style was first recognized in a group of pictures of doll-like young ladies shown in half-length; hence their author received the cumbersome title of the Master of the Half-Lengths (or Master of the Female Half-Lengths). Subsequently the same dulcet faces were observed in a number of religious paintings in which the Virgin and Child were set against a panoramic landscape in the style of Patinir. *The Rest on the Flight* (Fig. 5) in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, clearly exhibits the Half-Length Master's combination of Patinir's landscape and his own figures, with what Koch has termed their "sweetly idealized but somewhat vacuous expressions."⁷ The same unmistakable faces appear in the Raleigh picture (Fig. 1): Joseph, as a balding old man with a long forked gray beard, and the Virgin whose coif is parted in the middle and braided. As Koch points out, the small metallic button on the bodice of her dress, visible

in both pictures, must have been a favorite motif of the Master since it appears in almost all of his depictions of the Virgin. The squirming, nude Christ Child is likewise typical of the Master's incorporation of Italian Renaissance figure types which were popular in Antwerp at that time.

Despite the marked individuality of the Half-Length Master's figure style, the similarities between the landscapes of the Raleigh picture and the three Patinir compositions dealing with the Flight into Egypt explain why it has been difficult to distinguish the works of these two artists. Koch has, however, after a careful study been able to discover certain differences in style and iconography which make it possible to clear up these problems of attribution. First of all the Master of the Half-Lengths seems to have confined himself to small landscapes, whereas Patinir executed several paintings on a much larger scale, especially during the latter part of his career. Evidently the Master was familiar with these late works by Patinir since their influence is visible in his treatment of aerial perspective, and at times the Half-Length Master even goes beyond Patinir in a more credible arrangement of elements in the landscape. He also tends to divide the middle and far distances by a band of dark green trees interspersed with Gothic buildings, whereas Patinir, especially in his late works, was striving to achieve an uninterrupted recession into space. Coloristically the Master is more subtle in his application of Patinir's formula for dividing the painting into three zones of brown, green and blue. He uses thinner glazes and more gradations of color with grayish tones in the far distance.

In technique the Master of the Half-Lengths is closely related to Patinir, although a comparison of the Raleigh picture and Patinir's *Rest on the Flight* (Fig. 4) reveals the Master's greater emphasis on the foliage in the foreground, creating an all-over pattern of tiny plants and ferns highlighted against the dark background. Notably his choice of plants differs from that of Patinir, and where he employs the traditional ivy-covered tree trunk, his use of impasto produces greater clarity of detail in the plant forms and the bark of the tree. All of these details are uniformly defined by the Master's staccato brush strokes, which on close observation (Fig. 1) show a greater freedom in his application of paint. Other elements emphasizing his personal style are the stratified layers of clouds and the birds in flight, not found in Patinir's works, but popular among Antwerp painters in the 1530's and 1540's. While the distant port city and jagged rock formations are familiar from Patinir's oeuvre, the crenelated castle situated on a rocky promontory is the Master's own motif.

Although largely dependent on Patinir's iconographic precedent, the Master of the Half-Lengths was not without his innovations in that area. The Miracle of the Date-Palm, a legend not depicted by Patinir, appears in the background of the Raleigh picture and is the main subject of a landscape by the Master in Vienna (Fig. 6). Remarkably similar to the Raleigh panel, the Vienna painting also includes the Miracle of the Wheatfield in the right middle distance. This motif is taken directly from Patinir (Figs. 2, 3 and 4), but even so there are differences. Patinir shows the soldiers on foot and the farmer cutting wheat, but the Master of



Fig. 6 Master of the Half-Lengths
Landscape with the Rest on the Flight
 15¼" x 20¼"
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

the Half-Lengths represents the soldiers on horseback, with a large white banner, questioning a farmer who stands amid little bundles of cut grain (Figs. 1 and 6). The horses and the bundles of wheat are evidence of the Master's elaboration of Patinir's representations of the scene. On the other hand, when illustrating the Massacre of the Innocents (Figs. 1 and 6), the Half-Length Master reduces Patinir's group of soldiers to two or three figures, although he retains the motive of one mother who flees with her child, chased by a soldier with his sword drawn (Figs. 2 and 3). This tendency to simplify one incident and to enlarge upon another reveals the personality of the Master of the Half-Lengths as distinct from that of Patinir.

On the basis of Koch's analysis of the styles of Patinir and the Half-Length

Master and a comparison of the pictures produced in Antwerp in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, it would appear that the Raleigh *Flight into Egypt* was executed several years after the Master's contact with Patinir's studio, probably during the 1530's. Unfortunately Koch has not been able to offer any positive suggestions for the identity of the Half-Length Master, but hopefully his pioneer study of the Antwerp painter's landscape style will lead to the recognition of more works by the Master and possibly to the documentation of his name. Although Koch has emphasized that his catalogue of the landscapes is by no means definitive, his contribution has served to establish the personal style of the Master of the Half-Lengths and to single out some of his finest works, including the Raleigh *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*.

NOTES

1. Robert A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, Princeton, 1968, p. 24 citing H. Wentzel, "Die Kornfeldelegende," *Festschrift Kurt Bauch*, Deutscher Kunstverlag, n.d. (1957), pp. 177-192.
2. Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, I, pp. 411-412.
3. Koch, *Patinir*, p. 85.
4. The ideas expressed in the following passages are generally from the text of Koch's book on Patinir unless stated otherwise.
5. Koch, *Patinir*, p. 15.
6. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, pp. 412-413.
7. Koch, *Patinir*, p. 59.



Fig. 1 Morris Graves (Amer. 1910-)
Raven in Moonlight
Gouache; 23" x 27"
Bequest of W. R. Valentiner

FOUR IMPORTANT MORRIS GRAVES PAINTINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA COLLECTIONS

By Larry L. Ligo
Associate Professor of Art
Davidson College

The four paintings by Morris Graves which now hang in North Carolina collections are extremely important.¹ Taken as a whole they represent a turning point in the artist's career; taken individually they represent various phases before, during and after that turning point.

In April of 1943 Graves was discharged from the Army and returned to The Rock to resume his painting.² He was extremely depressed as a result of his military experience and for a number of weeks despaired that his creative ability had been permanently impaired. Nevertheless he continued to produce and *IN THE NIGHT*, now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Laughton, *MOON MAD CROW IN THE SURF* of the Milton Lowenthal collection and the *RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT* (Fig. 1) of the North Carolina Museum of Art are products of this period. Although these works are extremely fine, they clearly reflect Graves' depression—the extent of which can be most clearly seen by comparing these works with those produced in the years immediately preceding his military experience.

The period before the war had been a justifiably optimistic one for Graves. In 1935 (when he was only twenty-five) he had been given a one-man show at the Seattle Art Museum. In 1939, as a result of his participation in the Federal Art Project, he was included in a group show at the Museum of Modern Art, and in 1942 he was included in the Museum of Modern Art's *Americans 1942* exhibition, in which he was represented by thirty-four examples of his work. It was during this extremely optimistic period (1941) that Graves produced the *UNKNOWN BIRD* which is in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Issac Taylor (Fig. 2)³.

It is difficult to imagine that the confident optimism which pervades *UNKNOWN BIRD* could be so drastically absent only a little over a year later in *RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT*. But for Graves, military life "was a time of self-preservation rather than expansion, and when it was past he was deeply withered."⁴ Before the war the unaccountable joy of *BIRD SINGING IN THE MOONLIGHT*, and the profound wisdom of *BLIND BIRD* could be easily combined to produce his *UNKNOWN BIRD*. After his military experience, although he was still capable of producing a work "of one

mould [which perfectly conveyed] the mood of the beclouded moonlight night, out of which the bird, ghostlike, peered with fearful eye. . .".⁵ the joy was gone.

THE RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT (Fig. 1) conveys none of the excited anticipation of the **UNKNOWN BIRD** (Fig. 2). The bright blue-violet, blue-white and green-yellow have given way to gray-brown-black. "Bird" and "moon" exist within one space, yet independently. The "white writing" of song surrounds the **RAVEN** but does not emanate from him; in fact both the writing and the moonlight are kept at a distance. Realizing that they can come no closer, they nevertheless surround the "bird" and pause there waiting, forming a white halo of anticipation. The large "eye" of the raven is more an area of the head than an organ for seeing, just as the "beak" is forever closed and impotent. The **RAVEN** has been nowhere and has nowhere to go. Ponderous, heavy, alone, he exists. It is difficult to imagine a mood more antithetic to that conveyed by **UNKNOWN BIRD**.

The **UNKNOWN BIRD** contains none of the dark depression of the **RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT**. Like the **RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT**, the **UNKNOWN BIRD** does not sing—but for a different reason. The **RAVEN** is silent because for him singing is an impossibility; the **UNKNOWN BIRD** because singing is difficult when he is so deeply involved in other activities. A bird usually limits his singing to periods in which he is comfortably situated, singing only rarely while moving from place to place—or from one state of being to another. The **UNKNOWN BIRD** is definitely in transition. We have

the feeling that to have glanced at him a moment earlier would have found him in a different position, just as a moment later might have found him gone. A leg and wing, barely visible, indicating where he once stood, dissolve into the surrounding mist. A fourth, better defined leg indicates the position he just abandoned—or is about to occupy. What is this "bird?" Where has/is it been/going? Is the cave-branch-nest in which the "bird" dwells the cave-branch-nest of our own minds in which bird/thought is attempting to dwell—fleeting, changing, here and not there? Are the concentric circles of rust brown and black, which surround the "bird," attempting to draw our attention outward until we arrive at the plain brown crimped paper of reality—or do they draw us away from it? Is the "bird" really the echo of ourselves gradually dissipating into un-reality of the surrounding world? Or does he represent the gradual development of a more concrete awareness of who and what we are?

Questions such as these cannot be answered—at least not with a simple yes or no. The **UNKNOWN BIRD** conveys all of these things, but he also conveys much more. In fact the work will undoubtedly convey something different to almost everyone who sees it, depending upon what the individual brings to it. And this is as Graves would have it.⁶

There are questions about Graves' work, however, which can be answered. For example, the differences in mood manifested in **UNKNOWN BIRD** and **RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT** and the abrupt change which then permitted him to produce the joyous **IN THE AIR** (Fig. 4)

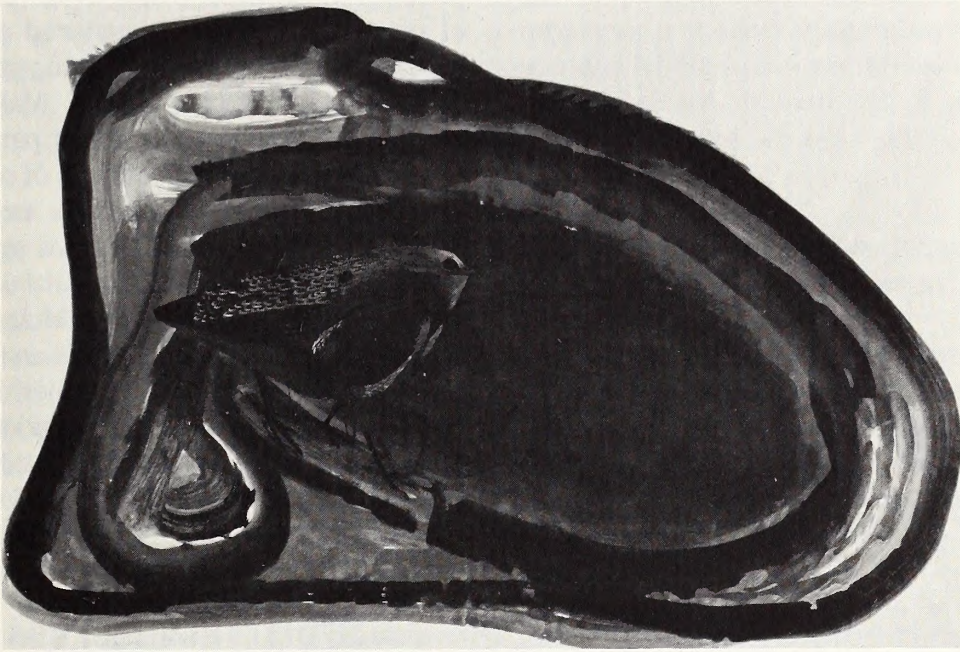


Fig. 2 Morris Graves
Unknown Bird
Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Isaac Taylor,
Chapel Hill

can be explained. The first change, as has been noted, is generally attributed to his military experience. The second, although previously unaccounted for,⁷ can, I believe, be attributed to a brief encounter with one man—Dr. William R. Valentiner.⁸

Dr. Valentiner first became aware of Graves through the *Americans 1942* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. He was drawn immediately to Graves because his work was so far removed from the screaming noise of the cities and the chaos resulting from the social changes of time. He believed that he saw in the work of Graves a new and prophetic voice which, springing from the depths of nature,

called out against the clang of weapons and the violence of war. Here Valentiner believed, was an artist whose work placed the blame for the horrors of mechanization and social strife precisely where it belonged—the destruction of man's relationship to nature. But most important, here was an artist with the ability to express such ideas convincingly.

Determined to meet Graves, Valentiner arrived in Seattle July 15, 1943. Graves, who usually spent all of his time at The Rock, happened to be in the city visiting relatives, and through a mutual friend Valentiner arranged a meeting the following day for lunch. Valentiner must have

made a favorable impression upon the artist, for although Graves is a man who feeds out of himself and finds solitude nourishing,⁹ he invited Valentiner to spend a couple of days with him at The Rock.

They spent most of the first day just talking. Graves admitted that he was quite depressed—in fact even frightened. He was an artist who was completely dependent upon his imagination, and at that time his creative power was dormant. Valentiner assured the artist that such a phase was not at all unusual in creative

people. He offered Rilke as an example of one whose creativity endured a hiatus of many years before returning magnificently in the *Duino Elegies*. Valentiner further pointed out that these periods of hiatus are necessary precursors of renewed creativity. At the end of an extremely creative period the soul needs a period of rest during which new ideas are accumulated. Valentiner explained that it was perfectly natural for something as traumatic as the war to stir up the ether, making it impossible for. . . “the mystically inclined prophet [to] hear the delicate, universal message for which he was wait-



Fig. 3 Morris Graves
Fish at Waterfall
Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Isaac Taylor,
Chapel Hill

ing. . ."¹⁰ It was then that Graves showed Valentiner a folder filled with his work and told him to take the painting of his choice. With Graves' help, Valentiner chose RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT.

The next morning Valentiner noticed that a large roll of silver paper which had been left on a chair in his room the night before had disappeared. Then he saw Graves, brush in hand, busily painting. Not wanting to bother the artist, he left the lean-to until noon, when he returned to find him still crouched on the floor working. After lunch Graves returned to his painting and worked throughout the afternoon.

The next day before taking Valentiner to the train Graves gave him a cardboard tube containing the RAVEN. Valentiner noticed that there was more than one sheet in the tube but did not have time to investigate until after he had boarded the train. Graves insisted on waiting until the train arrived and as he bade Valentiner goodbye, he told him that their discussion had helped him a great deal.

Later when Valentiner opened the tube which Graves had given him, he was surprised to find, in addition to the RAVEN, three watercolors showing a pink fish swimming through a dark stream towards a waterfall. At the bottom of one of them Graves had written, "Message for W.R.V." One of these works, entitled FISH AT WATERFALL (Fig. 3) is now in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Issac Taylor.

Ordinarily it is foolish to speculate concerning the meaning of one of Graves'

work, since his art does not *mean*, rather it *encounters*. In this case, however, we know the circumstances surrounding the creation of the work plus Graves' own words explaining the fish/minnow symbol, plus the inscription which Graves himself has offered. Given this much information, speculation becomes an irresistible temptation.

For Graves, "the Minnow is that coming-into-tantalizing elusive-focus of a clue within a concentrated moment of awareness (consciousness). Silvery minnow-moment, flash-gleaming in the depths, now seen, now gone . . . when crisis occurs the minnow voluntarily comes into view—to renew faith and give direction. It is *then* that one can catch him too—or at least through their direct perception memorize his characteristics to enlighten the mind—to learn that he is within our self. . . [But then when the] minnow . . . [is] triumphantly brought into focus and triumphantly and swiftly caught and brought under control. . . [he suddenly] reappear[s] evasively at large again in the interior cosmos."¹¹ A few faint strokes of pink with touches of red, and a fish/minnow merges into consciousness (Fig. 3.). "There is nothing exactly like this in the world's art, for it is not simply a literary or a mystical notion, but a plastic one as well. Form, as ominous, indifferent form, emerges from formlessness literally seems to bleed quietly into being,"¹² and just as quietly fades into nothingness. The part of him which *is* moves quickly through the dark water/subconscious, now in front of, now behind it—moving, changing, approaching, hesitating. The waterfalls, either sustaining or destructive, im-

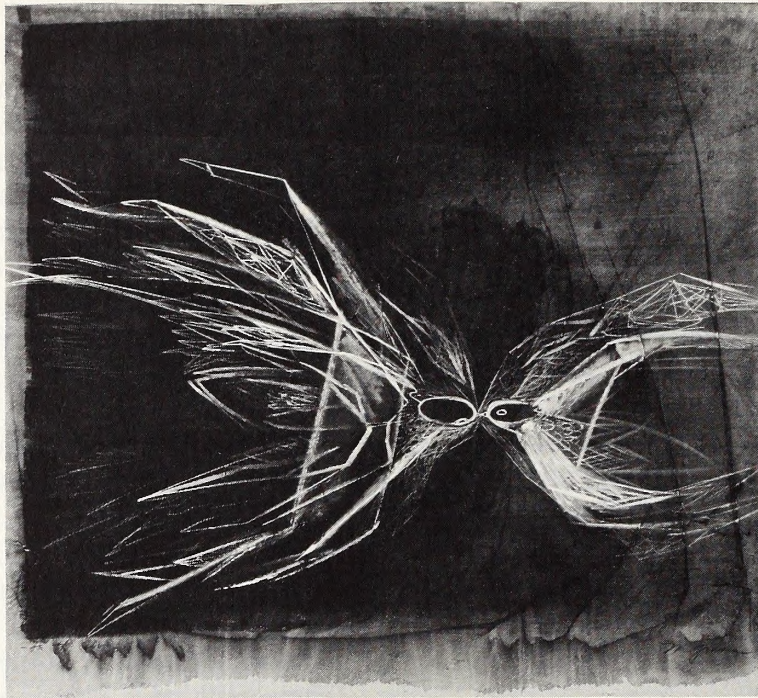


Fig. 4 Morris Graves
In the Air
 Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Ben F. Williams,
 Raleigh

patiently reach out to enfold him offering a clue to what awaits, coaxing forcing him inexorably forward to where flashes of pink, either reflections or parts of himself, are already present.

Given the circumstances surrounding the production of this work, the minnow *could* symbolize Graves' own creativity, which was voluntarily coming to the surface as a result of the present crisis in the artist's life. Graves' "Message for W. R. V." *might* be that he had caught a glimpse of his minnow and was on his way again, moving toward the falls which mark a transition between two bodies of water—or in this case, two phases in the artist's life. He had no way of knowing what lay ahead, but even the dangerous turmoil of the falls would be a risk well worth taking

if it permitted him to pass out of the dark, brackish water of the present. The important thing is that for a moment his minnow had surfaced and Graves had caught a glimpse of it. He knew that it was still there.

In the weeks which followed, Graves passed through the waterfalls. It was at this time that he produced the MESSAGE which belongs to Marian Willard Johnson in which, as Frederick Wight has said, "There is a progression out of darkness toward light and color. A bird haunted and shrouded in blackness moves into half light re-armed with spurs and horned crest, and faces a margin of prismatic dawn."¹³ For Graves the period of hiatus was a necessity which permitted the germ of a new creation to be planted. Now the

gestation period was over and the new plant began to bear its glorious fruit. He produced his Joyous Young Pine Series and, at the height of his exuberance, **IN THE AIR**, owned by Mr. and Mrs. Ben Williams.

IN THE AIR (Fig. 4.) is the confident gesture of a man who has found himself. Here, for one of the few times in Graves' career, two beings become one. Here the loneliness, the dread, the solitude of the individual existence finds an echo, a responding gesture or acceptance. Gone is the stoical resignation of the **BLIND BIRD** and the sullen, impotent resentment of **MOON MAD CROW IN THE SURF**. Gone, too, are the barriers which surrounded the *Birds of the Inner Eye*. Instead there is an openness, a freedom which can only result from the confident realization that in the presence of this other it is possible to expose one's very soul. Two aspects of being joined, almost as if reflection, for here there is no demand that the one become the projection

of the other's image of self. Rather there is the realization that in accepting the uniqueness of the other, it becomes possible to remain dynamically alive, that self-acceptance depends upon other-acceptance. Such liberating knowledge permits the soul to soar.

Thus Graves' period of hiatus produced not sterility but a metamorphosis. The larva of the **UNKNOWN BIRD** died in the cocoon of the **RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT**, emerged as the **FISH AT WATERFALL**, and spread its wings in **IN THE AIR**. The four works which now hang in North Carolina do indeed reflect an important phase in the artist's life. Through them we are able to follow Graves' development from the peak of his pre-war years, to the depths of his depression resulting from the war, through the period of transition resulting from his renewed sense of direction, and finally to the heights to which this new direction was to take him.¹⁴

NOTES

1. UNKNOWN BIRD and FISH AT WATERFALL are in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Isaac Taylor. RAVEN IN MOONLIGHT and IN THE AIR, bequests of W. R. Valentiner, now hang in the North Carolina Museum of Art and the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Ben F. Williams, respectively.

2. The Rock is Graves' name for his shack on the island of Fidalgo off the coast of Washington, north of Seattle.

3. UNKNOWN BIRD is not dated and I have not been able to discover precisely when it was produced. However, available information seems to suggest 1941. It was in 1941 that Graves began his Inner Eye Series to which the UNKNOWN BIRD is closely related. For example the LITTLE KNOWN BIRD OF THE INNER EYE also occupies a cave-like dwelling and possesses multiple legs and feet.

4. Frederick S. Wight, *Morris Graves*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1956. p. 35.

5. W. R. Valentiner, *Remembering Artists*, an unpublished manuscript in the collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art, 1950-51, p. 28.

6. "If [my] . . . paintings are confounding to anyone—then I feel that words (my

words, almost anyone's words) would add confusion. For the one to whom the 'message' is clear or even partially clear or challengingly obscure—then, for them, words are obviously excessive. To the one whose searching is not similar to ours—or those who do not feel the awful frustrations of being caught in our individual and collective projection of our civilization's extremity—to those who believe that our extroverted civilization is constructively 'progressing'—those who seeing and tasting the FRUITS and new buds of self-destructive 'progress' are still calling it good, to them the ideas in the paintings are still preposterous, hence not worth consideration." Morris. Willard Gallery, *Morris Graves*, New York, 1948. quoted on the last page.

7. Frederick S. Wight, who has written the most complete work on Graves, describes the change but makes no attempt to account for it. Frederick S. Wight, *Morris Graves*. pp. 35, 40-41.

8. The information which follows concerning Valentiner's encounter with Graves is taken from Valentiner's unpublished manuscript *Remembering Artists*, pp. 1-34.

9. Frederick S. Wight, *Morris Graves*, p. 21.

10. W. R. Valentiner, *Remembering Artists*, p. 28.

11. Morris Graves, Willard Gallery, *Morris Graves*, from comment for entries 10 and 12.

12. Kenneth Rexroth, "The Visionary Painting of Morris Graves," *Perspectives*, No. 10, (winter), 1955, p. 63.

13. Frederick S. Wight, *Morris Graves*, p. 35.

14. The recognition of a connecting thread running through these four works may be the stuff that art history is made of but it says very little about the works themselves. Thus the realization that FISH AT WATERFALL was produced during a period of transition might tell us something about the artist, but it certainly does not 'explain' the painting. For in point of fact, a work by Graves cannot be explained: it must be encountered.

Graves gives us an image or a symbol loose and aloof in a void which has yet to be disciplined into time and space. This symbol exists in some antithetical contrast within itself, as between minnow and bird or fish and star, and the essential relationship, which carries the tension of the work, is between the symbol and *ourselves*. We become part, and the image adds to our definition. The artist does not mirror us, but he gives us an opportunity not to miss ourselves . . . Frederick S. Wight, *Morris Graves*, p. 56.

Dr. Amanda K. Coomaraswamy, who was influential in the development of

Graves' thinking, made a similar statement in his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*.

The vocabulary of art, sensible in itself, is necessarily built up from the elements of sensible experience, the source of all rational knowledge; but what is constructed is not intended to resemble any natural species, and cannot be judged by verisimilitude or by the ear's and eye's sensation alone; it is intended to convey an intelligible meaning, and beyond that to point the way to the realization in consciousness of a condition of being transcending even the images of thought, and only self-identification with the content of the work, achieved by the spectator's own effort, can be regarded as perfect experience without distinction of 'religious' and 'esthetic', logic and feeling. Quoted from the preface of the catalogue for the Morris Graves exhibition at the Willard Gallery, 1948.

In spite of the ultimate inadequacy of words, however, it is hoped that information such as that contained in this article might serve as an introduction for someone who has never encountered Graves, or provide a source of increased awareness for those already familiar with this work.

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. John V. Allcott and Mr. Gaillard F. Ravenel for bringing the present locations of these works to my attention, to Mrs. Issac M. Taylor and Mr. Ben F. Williams who graciously permitted me to examine their paintings in their homes, and to Miss Nina Kasanof for showing me the provenance file on the work by Graves at the North Carolina Museum of Art.

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NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

Bulletin

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A Literary Keynote for Pompeo Batoni's
The Triumph of Venice ----- p. 3
by Philipp Fehl

An Eighteenth Century Bronze Saturn as a
Figure of Time ----- p. 17
by Jethro M. Hurt, III



Fig. 1 Pompeo Girolamo Batoni (It., 1708-1787)

The Triumph of Venice

Canvas: 68% x 112%

Collection of the University of the Pacific

A LITERARY KEYNOTE FOR POMPEO BATONI'S THE TRIUMPH OF VENICE

By Philipp Fehl
American Academy in Rome

One of the chief concerns of the art critics of the Renaissance was to point out, with ever new examples, that painting and poetry not only served the same ends, but that the sister arts could support each other to good advantage. Paintings that awakened literary allusions and induced reflection—especially on great, inspiring themes such as poetry and history provide—were praised because they instructed the beholder and delighted his mind as well as his eye, just as poetical works that contained scenes which were painted, as it were, in words, were considered meritorious because they gave the reader a sense of accuracy and presence.

It was not until the nineteenth century, in the wake of critical reflections on the limits of the several arts initiated by Lessing's *Laokoön* (1763), and because of a variety of misunderstandings which to this date have not been seriously challenged, that this persuasion became thoroughly discredited.¹

Pictures stuffed with literary references merely to insure their being high-minded can be onerous, of course.

The greatness of many of the noteworthy works by Renaissance artists and their successors often arises from the significance of the literary conceits they represent, while many other works produced in the same tradition fail to move us because the devices that served the great artists so well often are applied in a merely mechanical manner.

"If you wish to move me to tears," says Horace to the poet in his *Art of Poetry*, "you must first feel grief yourself."²

Batoni's *Triumph of Venice* (fig. 1) is, by the puzzling complexity of its subject, the finely chiselled perfection of its execution, and by the very size of its canvas with its wealth of colorful detail—it is about 5½ by 9½ feet—one of the most immediately remarkable paintings in the North Carolina Museum of Art. Since so much about the work is clearly contrived and in need of learned exegesis it may be dismissed too readily, once its challenge to interpretation has been recognized, as just another of those works in which mere diligence attempts to usurp the stage upon which genius alone may fitly dwell, a cerebral product best left to the enjoyment of scholarly bookworms or the cold embrace of the calculatedly disinterested statistical historian of art.



Fig. 2 Pompeo Girolamo Batoni (It., 1708-1787)
The Triumph of Venice (Detail of Fig. 1) Neptune and Mars

Such a dismissal would, I think, be quite a mistake. If the picture is not a triumph of art it still is a splendid tribute to it. Everything about it, even its very wealth, disclaims that it wishes to compete with works designed by the great artists for the heroic stage, the arena upon which history painting normally is performed.

Batoni, who was not a great painter but a good one, had the sense to be polite, gently playful, and cheerfully accurate

where he could not be great.³ He and his patron, Marco Foscarini, the official historian of Venice and ambassador to Vienna and the papal court at Rome (and later a doge), who himself wrote out the program of the painting⁴, elected to approximate the work in which they cooperated to a genre of narrative picture which was perfected in the engraved frontispieces of eighteenth-century books. Though these too were attuned to high-mindedness—their purpose was to celebrate the dig-

nity of the subject of the work—they were often also as delicately unpretentious in the complexity of their representation as the polite parlor games of the period.

The reader is invited to guess the full meaning of every detail, to stretch his imagination in discovering or remembering suitable allusions in literature and art, to see the gently hidden inner coherence of the whole, and to feel with gratitude the benefit of the instruction he gains in the process of unravelling the picture's pattern of narration. The frontispieces usually were followed by several pages of "explications" which made the viewer look at the pictures once more and made him appreciate the justice of the artist's representation.

If we will look at Batoni's picture in the terms of the mild hopes appropriate to this genre we shall see, I think, that it is a masterpiece of its kind, the equivalent, perhaps, of a musical clock of the eighteenth century, finely tuned, and, if one will but wind it up correctly, ready to play, in a somewhat tic-toc manner, a minuet by Vivaldi.

The text of the work's literary program is, unfortunately, not available to us.⁵ There is no question but that it must have been elaborate. A summary of it survives in a statement by Francesco Benaglio, Batoni's biographer (who was also Foscarini's secretary), to which Anthony Clark has already drawn attention in a fundamental article on the painting published some time ago in this *Bulletin*.⁶

Benaglio writes that the picture shows "the flourishing state of the Republic at the time when, in the peace following the termination of the wars unleashed by the formation of the famous League of

Cambrai, the fine arts were recalled and nurtured by the doge Lionardo Loredano and began to flower again in Venice."⁷ (Loredano ruled from 1501 to 1521.)

Justly starting from this sentence, Mr. Clark proceeded to offer a thoroughly convincing explanation of the meaning of the picture and of a telling number of its details and pictorial and literary allusions. Students of Batoni's painting will always safely be guided by his penetrating remarks. The principal purpose of this note, however, is to point to one literary allusion not referred to by Clark which, in my opinion, identifies what may be called the picture's overture to our looking pleasure and helps bring the ultimate instructional value of the work into full focus.

I have in mind the group of the two gods, Neptune and Mars, in the left foreground (fig. 2). Neptune addresses himself to Mars and points to the city of Venice in the background, and Mars—a figure adapted to the situation from a heavily restored antique statue of Mars in the Capitoline Museum⁸ (fig. 3)—lifts up his left hand in astonishment at the beauty and might of the city.⁹

Politely-educated Venetians of the eighteenth century could not help, I believe, but be reminded, upon viewing this group, of a famous epigram in praise of Venice by Jacopo Sannazaro.¹⁰ He lived at the same time as the doge Lionardo Loredano to whom Foscarini, as we know from the key sentence in Batoni's biography, wanted to direct the attention of the viewer. Legend has it that the senate of Venice was so impressed with the beauty and the justice of the sentiments expressed in the poem that it re-

warded its author with a hundred gold scudi for each line of the work.¹¹ No doubt it is the saga of this handsome remuneration as much as the perfection of the work which contributed to the perpetuation of the fame of the epigram:¹²

Viderat hadriacis venetam Neptunus in undis
Stare urbem et toto ponere jura mari,
Nunc mihi tarpejas quantum vis, Jupiter, arces
Obiice, et illa tui moenia Martis ait.
Si pelago Tybrim praefers, urbem adspice
utramque:
Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse deos.¹³

Neptune saw Venice rise from the waves of
the Adriatic
And give laws to the whole expanse of the sea.
"Now, oh Jupiter," he exclaimed, "vaunt as
much as you like
The Tarpeian fortress and those walls of your
Mars!
And if indeed you prefer to the ocean the
shores of the Tiber, compare but the cities:
The one, you will say, was erected by men, the
other by gods.

It is true that in the painting Neptune is addressing Mars directly while in the poem he addresses Jupiter, but that does not detract from the relationship of the painting to the poem. We have to do with an allusion to the poem and not with its translation into painting. The change may have come about because Foscarini, the new ambassador to Rome, wished to see the patron god of Rome himself persuaded by Neptune's argument, or it may have just seemed an unnecessary elaboration to introduce Jupiter into the picture, as well as all the other divinities who had to be accommodated in the air. As the poem is the source of Foscarini's invention of the pictorial motif, so that motif in turn is expected to make us recall the poem—and the splendor which is entirely its own—in a happy consonance of visual impression and memory.¹⁴

If we let ourselves be guided by the group of Neptune and Mars—and by the accent placed on it by the reference to Sannazaro's epigram—the argument of the picture may be summarized (without adding anything particularly new to Mr. Clark's interpretation except for the sequence of the parts) as follows:

The Venice pointed out by Neptune to Mars is represented by the doge's palace, the piazzetta of San Marco with Sansovino's library, the two great columns, Sansovino's *zeccha* (the mint of Venice) and the campanile of San Marco's. In short, it is the view of the city which is still the most beloved, and which has not changed since the day of Sansovino.¹⁵ It is the eternal Venice.

The life of this city and the sources of its prosperity are made visible to us in the form of allegorical figures. Venice herself, a beautiful new Venus born from the sea, is seated in her sea-shell chariot drawn by two lions of St. Mark. Her adviser, standing by her side, is the doge Lionardo Loredano.¹⁶ He is the only figure in the painting represented with the same kind of direct realism which distinguishes the view of the city in the background.

Venice heeds his advice. She stretches forth her right hand towards Athena who, holding the olive branch of peace in her hand, undertakes to protect the arts of Venice. On the ground at Athena's feet we can already see the little genii at work.

Loredano is anxious, however, that Venice also acknowledge the gifts of grapes, wheat, and apples sent to her by putti messengers from the *terra firma* surrounding Venice and—as we can see by the ever joyous domestic charm of the goddess Ceres reclining on the ground at the right—prospering in the ease of



Fig. 3 Mars
Capitoline Museum, Rome
Photo Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute, Rome

peace under Venice's government.

Venice is still turning towards Athena, but her left hand is already poised to accept graciously and happily the gift tendered by the first of the little messengers.¹⁷

In the air, enthroned on a cloud, is, on one side, the allegory of History or Historical Writing, composing her work. Below her, to the left, Fame, holding a

trumpet and an olive branch of peace, flies through the air and affectionately looks at Venice. Matching Fame on the right is Mercury who brings a book inscribed *Storia di Venezia* to six great men of ancient Greece and Rome presumably historians, statesmen, and law givers, who look at the book proffered them with rapt but still dignified astonishment.¹⁸

It remains to be asked why Foscarini chose to focus a painting in praise of Venice on the person of the doge Lionardo Loredano and, through him, on the memory of the League of Cambrai—that alliance of hostile powers which almost destroyed Venice altogether and, in the aftermath of the wars it engendered, left Venice severely reduced in its influence on European politics and restricted in its territorial expansion.¹⁹ We may well take it for granted that it was due to Loredano's skill and perseverance that Venice rescued what could be rescued.²⁰ But it seems odd that a work celebrating the glory of Venice should focus so strongly on a particular point in time, especially on one in which the political power of Venice declined so severely, and on the statecraft of a single individual. To my knowledge there exists no other work in praise of Venice, literary or pictorial, that is so specific or so singular in its emphasis.

The answer to the puzzle may be found, I think, in the fact that Foscarini, as was only natural for a person of his rank and ambition, considered his office as public historian of Venice as one to be filled by a political thinker.²¹ He commissioned the painting in 1737, soon after he had become ambassador to Rome, and proudly displayed the painting at his embassy.²² It is likely that he intended the painting to be a *kind* of pictorial summary of his political philosophy as it concerned the management of the affairs of Venice and a demonstration of what were or, he hoped, would be the foundations of the foreign policy of his government.

Venice, after the treaty of Passarowitz (1718), when once more her wings were

clipped by rivals far greater than she could hope to resist, came to be inescapably restricted to her home territories.²³ If she were to look to her history for a lesson to draw upon at this trying time, she could readily rediscover the benefits she had reaped in the aftermath of an earlier defeat. It was the League of Cambrai that led Venice to experiment with abdicating the policy of territorial conquest and empire and cultivating peace.

As a result, says the historian, the civic life of the republic prospered, and the arts flourished as perhaps never before anywhere in the history of the modern world.²⁴ Could one not hope that an application of the lesson of history to the present political situation—if one were but guided by the example of Loredano's wisdom and perseverance—would lead again to the true happiness of Venice and bring about a renaissance of the Venetian Renaissance? It is not by accident that Mars, the god of war as well as the patron of Rome, stands amazed at the splendor of the sight of Venice at peace, protected only by her walls of water (which are also the straits of her commerce) and that no reference is made in the picture to military glory or to the maritime empire of Venice.

The allegory of History on high, who presides over the whole scene, is equipped with two heads joined into one, an allusion to the head of Janus. One is the bearded head of a man looking backwards, the other (the principal head of the figure as it were) that of a beautiful young woman, History herself, who pensively looks down upon the scroll on which she is about to make an entry. History not only recalls what happened in the past but

also records and evaluates (as it was Foscarini's task to do as official historian of Venice) the course of current actions. These actions, of course, can only prove their true worth in the future—which History, in her eternal progress through time, will record soon enough.

Reflections of this sort were commonplace enough from the beginning of the Renaissance well into the nineteenth century, and were frequently published in codified form, in handbooks on emblems and allegories for the use of artists and poets and rhetoricians. Probably the most influential version of the standard allegorical figure of History and its explanation appeared in Cesare Ripa's ubiquitously used *Iconologia*.²⁵ (Cf. fig. 5 and Appendix) If we compare the two allegories, the refinement and elegance of Foscarini's understanding of the role of history and Batoni's art become readily apparent. By introducing the allusion to the head of Janus they manage at once to do without the somewhat redundant figure of Chronos and to overcome the awkwardness of a conceit that requires History to make entries in her book while she is looking away from it.

The allegory of history, with a second head attached (male, because it is derived from Janus) has, however, its own potential of absurdity when it is to be represented in painting. Foscarini and Batoni avoided giving the allegory the effect of a two-headed and bisexual monster by joining the male head to the female one almost as if it were a part of the headdress of the latter. The invention is by no means theirs. They merely made grateful use of a beautiful solution to an almost identical problem by Raphael, whose allegory of

Prudence in the *Stanza della Segnatura* in the Vatican (fig 4) had to have two heads because, as we all know, foresight is necessarily based on the advantages gained through hindsight.

Batoni took over the construction of not only the head of Raphael's Prudence but almost her entire form, except that the direction in which the figure is facing is reversed. In so doing he was not stealing, of course, but making use of the gifts which the work of great artists bestows upon posterity for the advancement of the beauty of its own work. His practice is quite in keeping with the teaching of art in the academies from their foundation in the Renaissance, and demonstrates to us once more—applied to the needs of the artist—Foscarini's view of the usefulness of the study of history to those who govern the management of current events.

It is ever so gratifying to a historian of art to recall in front of this picture which desires us to draw a lesson from history that at least as far as the artistic aspects of Foscarini's political program are concerned, his expectations were not disappointed. In his own lifetime he was able to see the unfolding of the modern art of Guardi and Canaletto and the glorious and spirited revival of the art of Paolo Veronese in the work of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.²⁶ And Venetians of the succeeding generation were able to delight and take pride in the sculpture of Canova which recalled to them the perfection of classical art.

Only a fraction of Foscarini's many literary labors was ever completed. The first part of his *Della Letteratura Veneziana* remains his *magnum opus*. He

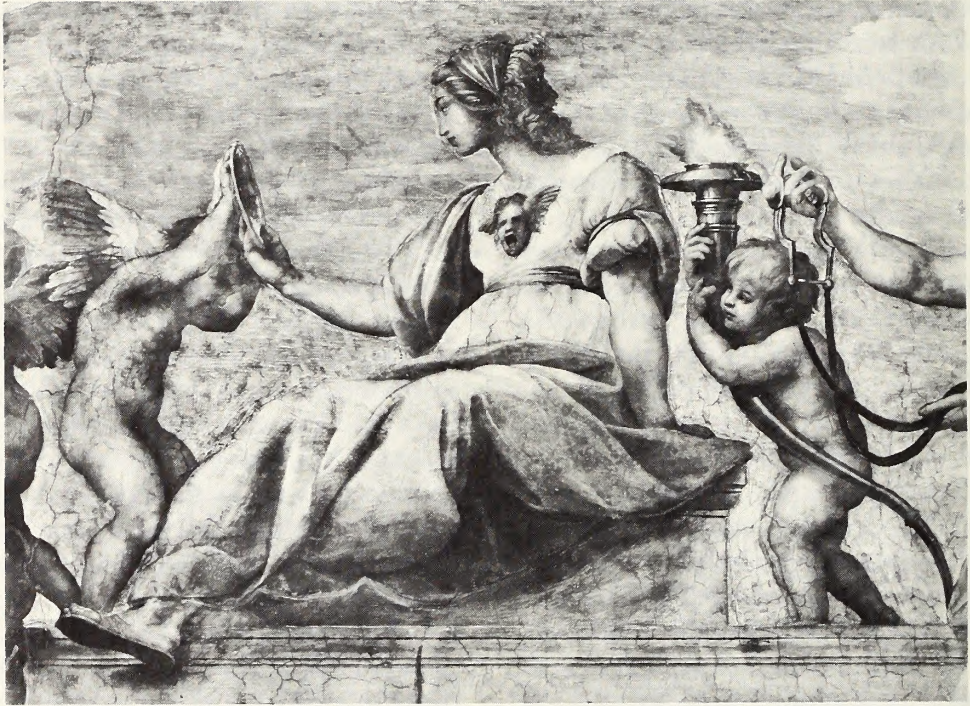


Fig. 4 Raphael
Prudence, Stanza della Segnatura
 Vatican
 Photo Alinari

published it in 1752 and dedicated it to the then newly elected Doge Francesco Loredano, who was a descendant of the great Lionardo Loredano.²⁷ Fifteen years had passed since Foscarini had commissioned the painting celebrating the wisdom and the statecraft of Lionardo Loredano. He cannot have watched without emotion the steady rise from office to office of the new Loredano, whom, incidentally, he succeeded as doge in 1762.

In his dedicatory epistle Foscarini included a compliment which reflects, howsoever incompletely, but still in his own words, the political convictions which led him to commission and so finely work out the literary design of Batoni's

joyously didactic painting. He was taking the liberty, Foscarini said, to dedicate his book on the history of the literature of Venice to the doge and to the Council of Ten: to the latter because they had shown him their trust by appointing him the official historian of Venice; to the new doge

because all are already agreed in the expectation that your Highness' government of your Serenity will prove to be as propitious to the cultivation of learning and the fine arts as was that of the great doge Lionardo Loredano from whom your Serenity received together with his blood, the clarity of mind, the zeal for the public good, the liberality and magnanimity and so many other noble gifts which distinguished you as a citizen of the Republic and are now sustaining you in your present rank of Prince.²⁸

APPENDIX

HISTORY

(as described by Cesare Ripa)²⁹

A winged female figure dressed in white who looks backwards. In her left hand she holds a tablet or book, in which she writes. Her left foot is placed on a rock formed like a cube. At her side let there be a Saturn upon whose shoulder she places the tablet or the book in which she writes.

History is the art which, through writing, makes known the memorable actions of mankind, the divisions of times and characters and the events affecting men in times past and present. It requires the observation of three things: truth, order and consonance.

History is represented with wings because she is the memory of things past which are worth knowing; her narration is transmitted through all the parts of the world and passed on from age to age to posterity.

The glance directed backwards indicates that History is the memory of things past to benefit posterity.

She is represented writing in the manner we have indicated because historical writing preserves the memory of the souls of men while statues preserve their bodily form only, as Petrarch says in his 84th Sonnet:

For what can finest marble truly tell
Of living mortal than the form he wore?
Think you great Caesar or Marcellus'
name,

That Paulus, Africanus to our days,
By hammer or by anvil ever came?

No! frail the sculptor's power for lasting
praise:

Our study, my Pandolfo, only can
Give immortality of fame to man.³⁰

History keeps her foot on the cube because she must always be steadfast and not let herself be corrupted, nor, for the sake of gain, be subjected or tied by any bands to lies. This is the reason why she is dressed in white.

One puts Saturn by her side because History, as Cicero says, is the witness of the times, the mistress of life, the light of memory and the soul of public actions.³¹



Fig. 5 Cesare Ripa
La Novissima Iconologia
Padova, 1625

NOTES

1. On the subject, note especially Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*, Chicago, 1958; Ralph Cohen, *The Art of Discrimination: Thomson's 'The Seasons' and the Language of Criticism*, Berkeley, Cal., 1964; Rensselaer Wright Lee, *Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1967. For the attack on the tradition which brought about its end, note James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Mr. Whistler's Ten O'Clock Lecture*, London, 1888 (delivered 1885) and his *Whistler v. Ruskin: Art and Art Critics*, London, 1878.

Appropriately enough the interrelation of poetry and painting is the key note of an address celebrating the memory of Batoni: Onofrio Boni, *Elogio di Pompeo Girolamo Batoni*, Rome, 1787, esp. pp. 13-20.

2. Horace, "On the Art of Poetry," translated by T. S. Dorsch, *Classical Literary Criticism*, Baltimore, Md., 1965, p. 82.

3. In this respect, too, it may be well to recall Horace. Note his advice to the hopeful poet: "Choose a subject that is suited to your abilities, you who aspire to be writers; give long thought to what you are capable of undertaking, and what is beyond you. A man who chooses a subject within his powers will never be at a loss for words, and his thoughts will be clear and orderly. The virtue and attraction of order, I think I am right in saying, is that the poet will at any moment

be saying exactly what his poem at that moment requires, he will be keeping back points for the time being or leaving them out altogether, and showing what he thinks admirable and what beneath notice." Horace, *ed. cit.*, p. 80.

4. On the history of the commission, see the basic guides to the understanding of the painting by Anthony M. Clark, "Some Early Subject Pictures by P. G. Batoni," *Burlington Magazine*, CI, no. 675, (June 1959), p. 235 and "Batoni's 'Triumph of Venice,'" *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, IV, no. 1 (Fall 1963), pp. 4-11.

See also Ernst Emmerling, *Pompeo Batoni, sein Leben und Werk*, Darmstadt, 1932, pp. 22-24, 131.

5. Clark, *Burlington Magazine*, p. 235. It may possibly still turn up among the Foscarini papers in the National Library of Vienna. On the collection, see *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. 5, pp. xxxvii-viii, and pp. 283-476.

6. Angelo Marchesan, *Vita e Prose Scelte di Francesco Benaglio*, Treviso, 1894, p. 62f. See also note 4.

7. The Italian text is given by Clark, *Burlington Magazine*, p. 235.

8. At the time Batoni's picture was commissioned the statue was in the Palazzo Massimi in Rome. It was bought by Pope Clement XII for the Capitoline Museum and removed from the Palazzo Massimi on October 14th, 1738. The re-

moval must have caused quite a stir among antiquarians in Rome, Batoni and Foscarini included. On the history of the statue, see H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford 1912, Vol. I, p. 40, and pl. 7, no. 40.

9. Clark is of the opinion that the figure really represents Aeneas "with overtones of Mars and Rome." (*North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, p. 8). I think that the figure is too deliberate a quotation of the Mars in the Capitoline Museum to represent anyone else but Mars. The shield of Batoni's Mars furthermore shows Romulus and Remus, a device which is in order for Mars, but altogether premature for Aeneas.

10. Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), a Neapolitan poet, was as famous (if not even more so) for his poetry in Latin as for his work in Italian.

11. The *scudo* was a new gold piece produced under the doge Andrea Gritti (1523-39) and worth somewhat less than a ducat. It was not used for commercial purposes but chiefly by the government for the pay of soldiers and similar official expenses. The issue of the *scudo* was discontinued after two or three ducal reigns. (G. W. Carew Hazlitt, *The Venetian Republic*, London, 1915, vol. 2, p. 754). The story of the munificent stipend is reported by Giovan Battista Crispo who says he has it from Aldus Manutius, Sannazaro's friend and publisher. Crispo quotes two more poems by Sannazaro in praise of Venice which, he says, probably were added cause for the honor of

the stipend. See his *Vita di Giacompo Sannazaro*, Rome, 1593, pp. 47-9. It has also been affirmed that the appreciative senate decreed that a portrait of Sannazaro by Titian by hung in *La Sala del Maggior Consiglio* of the Doge's Palace. For details, see the discreetly skeptical account by W. Parr Greswell, *Memoirs of Angelus Politianus Actius Sincerus Sannazarius*, Manchester, 1805, pp. 390-1.

12. On the continued popularity of the poem in Venice see especially Pompeo Molmenti, *Venice, Its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*, Chicago, 1906-8, vol. II, p. 14. See also Jacopo Morelli, *Componimenti poetici di varii autori in lode di Venezia*, Venice, 1792, for a reprint of this work and related poems.

13. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Egloghe - Elegie - Odi - Epigramme*, ed. Giorgio Castello (with translations into Italian), Milan, 1928, pp. 198-9 (Book I, no. 31).

14. In 1747 Count Francesco Algarotti dedicated to Foscarini's poem (*Epistola a S.E. il Signor Marco Foscarini, Cavaliere e Procuratore di San Marco, Storiografo della Serenissima Republicca di Venezia*) in which he compares at length the glories of Florence and Venice, especially in literature and the arts. The manner of comparison is so close to that used in Batoni's picture and Sannazaro's epigram that we may conclude Algarotti not only wished to make an allusion to the painting but that he looked upon it guided by the "Keynote" to which I here draw attention. For the poem, see Morelli, *op. cit.* pp. 57-61. The date of the dedication is given in a note on p. 62.

15. The view is taken from a painting by Gasparo Vanvitelli. See Clark, *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, p. 8 and fig. 4.

16. The figure is derived from the famous portrait of Loredano by Bellini in the National Gallery, London. See Clark, *Burlington Magazine*, p. 235.

17. Ceres is identifiable by the city crown on her head. See Clark, *ibid.* The city crown very much has the aspect of a modern city wall and helps to reinforce the connection between Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, and the territories of the Veneto which is established by the very sense of the picture.

18. Their identification is difficult. Clark, with some hesitancy, points out Plato, Homer, and Cicero among them. (See *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, p. 11, n. 4) If it should seem absurd to us that the great men of antiquity should view the history of Venice with a certain awe and delight we might recall that the record of Venice, a republic that governed itself in freedom and justice and was blessed with prosperity for an unbelievably long time, far outshines anything that the political history of antiquity has to report. Foscarini, in the invention of this group, furthermore only acted out an ancient topos in the art of praising Venice. Note, e.g., the following poem by Battista Mantovano (1448-1516):

Semper apud Venetos studium sapientiae, et
In pretio doctrina fuit; superavit Athenas
Ingeniis; rebus gestis Lacedaemona et Argos.

Ever Venice treasured learning and doctrine.
In her fine minds she was greater than Athens,
And in her deeds than Lacedaemon and Argos.

[The Latin is quoted from "Remarks on

Venice," *The Pamphleteer*, vol. 12 (1818) p. 208.]

19. The League of Cambrai was an alliance between Louis XII of France and the Emperor Maximilian I, concluded at Cambrai on December 10th, 1508. It was soon joined by Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain and by Pope Julius II and a number of other princes. The objective was the destruction of Venetian power. The complexities of the wars that followed are narrated from a Venetian point of view by Andrea Mocenigo in *La Guerra di Cambrai fatta ai tempi nostri in Italia*, Venice, 1560. Foscarini speaks of Mocenigo's work with approval. See his letter to Passionei, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. V (1843), p. 240.

20. On Lionardo Loredano's merit, see especially the funerary oration by Andrea Navagero, translated by Charles Kalsall, *The Pamphleteer*, Vol. 12 (1818), pp. 187-207. His sage predilection for peace is particularly noted on pp. 198-9, *ibid.*

21. On Foscarini's politics, see the introduction to the writings of Foscarini published in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. V (1843), especially pp. xiii-xiv. His views on the art and purposes of historical writing are stated elaborately in his letters to Scipione Maffei and Monsignor Passionei, *ibid.*, pp. 211-252. Note especially pp. 239-40.

22. Clark, *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, p. 6.

23. Passarowitz (Pozarevac) is near the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers. The treaty (dated July 21st, 1718) concluded a war between the Turks on

one side and the Venetians, allied with Austria, on the other. After spectacular successes of the Austrians under Prince Eugene against the Turks, a treaty was concluded, under the pressure of Venice's competitors, England and Holland, who acted as peace makers, and of Austria, which imposed very unfavorable conditions upon the Venetians and almost entirely deprived them of what had remained of their maritime empire. Foscari, who was Venetian ambassador at Vienna from 1730 until shortly before he was appointed to Rome (March 1st, 1736), was, naturally, intimately concerned with the shaping of the foreign policies of his country after the disaster of Passarowitz. See *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. V, pp. xiv-xvii.

24. The argument is still frequently repeated. See, e.g., Michelangelo Muraro and Andre Grabar, *Treasures of Venice*, New York, 1963, pp. 19, 161, and 162.

25. First edition, without figures, Rome, 1593. First illustrated edition, Siena, 1613. New editions appeared frequently to the end of the eighteenth century.

26. Veronese's frescoes in the Villa Foscari at Magnadola (now destroyed) are counted among the great works of the master which gave direction to the art of Tiepolo. We may note also that Tiepolo spent some time in 1762 at the house of Sebastiano Foscari, who was then Venetian ambassador at Madrid. See Pompeo Molmenti, *Tiepolo*, Paris, 1911, pp. 32, 227.

27. Foscari's book was being printed when Doge Pietro Grimani died and

Francesco Loredano was elected to succeed him. For the text of the original dedication of the work to Grimani (which was never used), see *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa del Doge Marco Foscari*, Venice, 1854, p. 9 n.

28. For the complete text of the dedication, see *ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

29. *La Novissima Iconologia*, Padua, 1625, pp. 304-5.

30. More usually listed as sonnet 83 or 104 (*L'aspettata virtù, che'n voi fioriva*). It is addressed to Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini. For a translation of the complete poem, see *The Sonnets of Petrarch*, transl. Joseph Auslander, New York, 1931, p. 83.

Malatesta, lord of Rimini. Ripa only uses the last three lines of the poem, as a point of reference, as it were, but has in mind the whole passage here quoted from Macgregor's translation, *The Sonnets, Triumphs, and other Poems of Petrarch—Translated by Various Hands*, ed. Thomas Campbell, London, 1890, p. 99. Petrarch actually compares the arts of sculpture and poetry, in keeping with an ancient topos, and gives the palm to poetry. Ripa not inappropriately makes Petrarch's text applicable to history, which he wants us to recognize as a poetical art serving the cause of truth.

31. The reference is to Cicero's *De Oratore*, ii. 9. 36: *Historia, vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qui voce alia nisi oratoris immortaliti commendatur?*

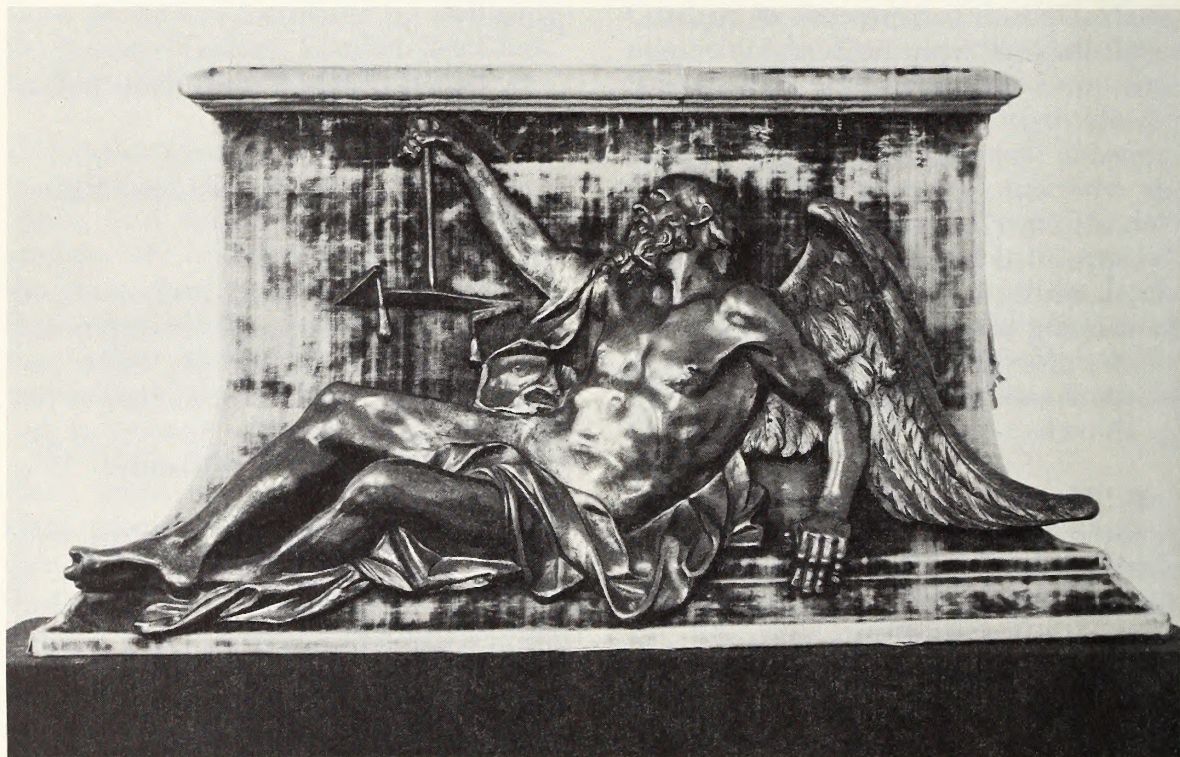


Fig. 1 Workshop of André Charles Boulle
Saturn as the Figure of Time
Bronze (with traces of gilding); 9 x 18¼ in.
Gift of Mr. William Wilson, New York, to NCMA

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRONZE SATURN AS A FIGURE OF TIME

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In a recent article in this *Bulletin*, Marilyn Caldwell suggested that a semi-reclining bronze figure in the North Carolina Museum of Art [Fig. 1] which had hitherto been ascribed to the School of Bernini (Italy, 17th. century) should more properly be called "a Saturn from the workshop of . . . André Charles Boulle (1642-1732)."¹ To support her argument she reproduced photographs of two *Régence* clocks in the Wallace Collection in London, a well-known clock design attributed to Boulle, and a painting, *The Garden*, of 1724 by Jean François de Troy (1679-1752) in which a similar clock appears on the top of an open bookcase in the background.² In each example a figure similar in pose to the Raleigh bronze is shown resting on a shallow ledge below the dial of the clock, and above each dial there is a second figure, described in the article as "a chubby, rambunctious gilt bronze Cupid."³ The two figures are interpreted as players in a drama, acting out their respective *tempus* in the roseate maxim, *Amor vincit Tempus*.

I am in complete agreement with Mrs. Caldwell in her reattribution of the Ra-

leigh bronze to the workshop of André Charles Boulle and in her identification of the figure's original purpose. In addition to its finely chased surface, the bronze bears heavy traces of the gilding which would have covered it as an ormolu mount below the dial of a Boulle clock.⁴ Also useful was her review of the derivation of the figure from a lost fresco by Pordenone *via* a chiaroscuro woodcut by Ugo da Carpi.⁵

What has not been understood, however, is the instrument which the figure holds aloft in his right hand. Because of its repeated misinterpretation as a balance or a pair of antique scales (attributes more commonly associated with the cardinal virtue, Justice, or the Archangel Michael), a valuable clue in the identification of the figure and of his exact role in the dialogue has been lost.⁶ This device as it appears in Fig. 1 is composed of a thin rod which is attached to the middle of a flat bar with two short arms which generally resemble the letter "Z." Two pear-shaped weights are suspended at right angles from the ends of the arms. A familiar mechanism at the time that Pordenone first represented it on the facade of the Palazzo d'Anna, it was still understood by Boulle almost two centuries later and adapted by him as the

attribute of Time.

It was Galileo who first observed that whatever the range of the oscillations of a swinging weight, they were invariably executed in equal times. His discovery of the isochronism of the pendulum in 1581 made possible the application of the pendulum to the clock, an innovation credited to his son.⁷ What had been used previously to regulate the motion of the geared wheels and pinions of the clock was a verge escapement mechanism of a type similar to that held in the hand of the Raleigh bronze figure. The flat bar from which the weights hang is called a foliot and the vertical rod perpendicular to it, a verge [Fig. 4]. The weights of the foliot could speed the movement if they were made less heavy or moved closer to the verge, likewise, heavy weights or weights suspended from the ends of the foliot would cause a slower movement.

In an actual clock the verge continues past the point at which it meets the foliot and rests in a socket which does not constrict its pivoting motion. At the top it is suspended from a cord in much the same way that the verge and foliot in Fig. 2 are suspended.⁸ In having the verge supported in this functional manner, Pordenone incorporated the form of the human body into the mechanism of a clock, creating an ingenious union between the figure of Time and the attribute of Time.

The artist chose to represent Time as a somewhat idealized figure of an old man with wings.⁹ In later periods this became the familiar type and the personification from the Pordenone fresco was recreated in various forms to serve new needs.

In addition to the larger figure in the Pordenone drawing [Fig. 2], there is also

a young boy, his fingers entwined in the cord which supports the verge. The youth is not attempting to steal the mechanism from the figure of Time, but is intent rather on interrupting the continuity of the movement. The consequences of his meddling could be seen in the several disasters which occurred elsewhere in the facade frescoes.¹⁰

The serpent which encircles the ankles of the older figure, but which, like the boy, was discarded by Boulle, is of ancient origin.¹¹ Having neither beginning nor end, the self-consuming daemon of Time is a symbol of Eternity. In the Middle Ages such creatures were represented harnessed to the chariot of the god Saturn. The placement of the serpent around the legs of the figure finds its explanation in another association with Saturn, for the legs of the cult image in the temple of the god on *Mons Saturnius* (today, the Capitoline hill) were fettered for most of the year, the woolen bands removed only during the Saturnalia.¹² By the early sixteenth century the humanistic reunion of Saturn and Chronos had been accomplished, so that it was both appropriate and conventional for a god of Time to be shown in the form of Saturn and with the attributes of Saturn.¹³ It was this type which was used by Pordenone and in turn popularized by Ugo da Carpi.

In addition to holding a position as *marqueteur et ébéniste ordinaire du roi*, André Charles Boulle also formed an important collection of prints, drawings, and paintings.¹⁴ As well as affording Boulle pleasure, his collection served as a depository for ideas and models. While it is possible that Boulle may have derived his figure of Time from the Por-

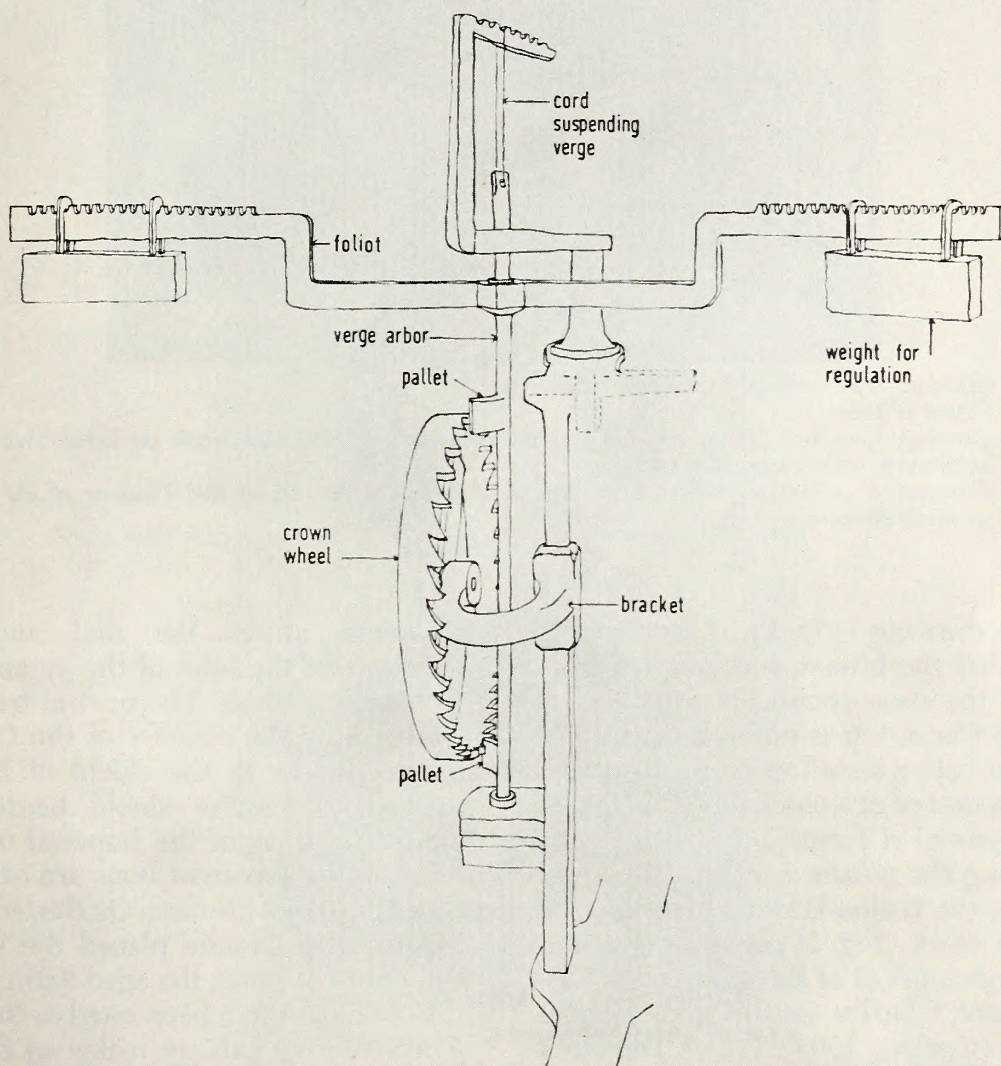


Fig. 4 The Verge Escapement
Reproduced by permission of Edward T. Joy, author of *The Country Life Book of Clocks* (1967).

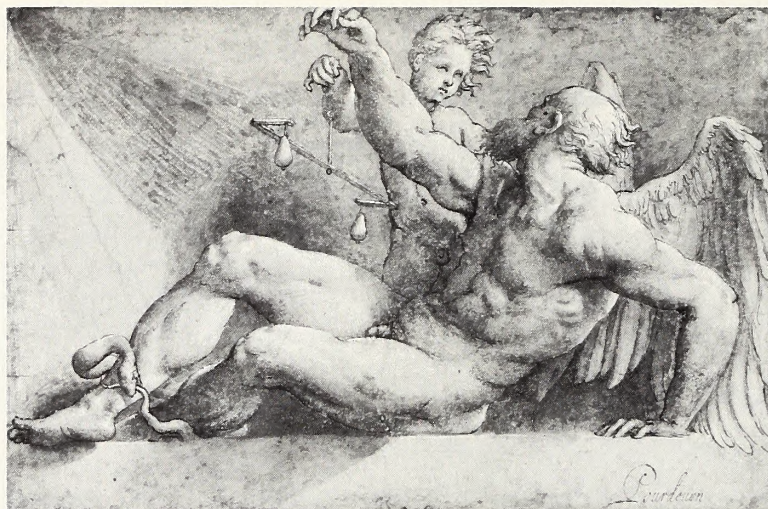


Fig. 2 Giovanni Antonio Sacchiense, called Pordenone
Figure of Time

Drawing (pen and brown ink and brown ink wash on faded blue wash on faded blue paper, heightened with white); 10% x 16½ in.

Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by Permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

denone drawing [Fig. 2], it seems more likely that the bronze was adapted from one of the mass-produced woodcuts of Ugo da Carpi.¹⁵ It is difficult to imagine a figure better suited to be incorporated into the design of a clock than this ready-made symbol of Time.

Among the treasures of the Zähringer Museum in Baden-Baden there is a tall bracket clock [Fig. 5] made for Maximilian Emmanuel II of Bavaria (1666-1726) by André Charles Boulle and Jacques Thuret (working 1694-1712).¹⁶ The clock (with barometer) is richly decorated in gilt bronze mounts appropriate to the Hapsburg elector. At the top of a truncated pyramid stands the double-headed eagle, symbol of the Hapsburgs, the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in his talons.¹⁷ Resting on the segmental

pediment above the dial and also mounted on the sides of the pyramid are elaborate trophies. The central trophy is crowned by the coronet of the German prince. Below it, the shield of Bavaria supports a smaller shield bearing an incised drawing of the Imperial orb, the *Reichsapfel*. Bavarian lions are attached to either side of the case. On the ledge below the dial, Boulle placed the symbol and figure of Time, the aged Saturn.¹⁸

Boulle has often been cited as the most representative cabinet maker of the age of Louis XIV,¹⁹ and the clock in the Zähringer Museum is typical of the artist's official style. Its design is formal though not severe. Majestic and monumental, it is a clock intended not for the private chamber, but for the public gallery, crowned as it is with the elaborate sym-

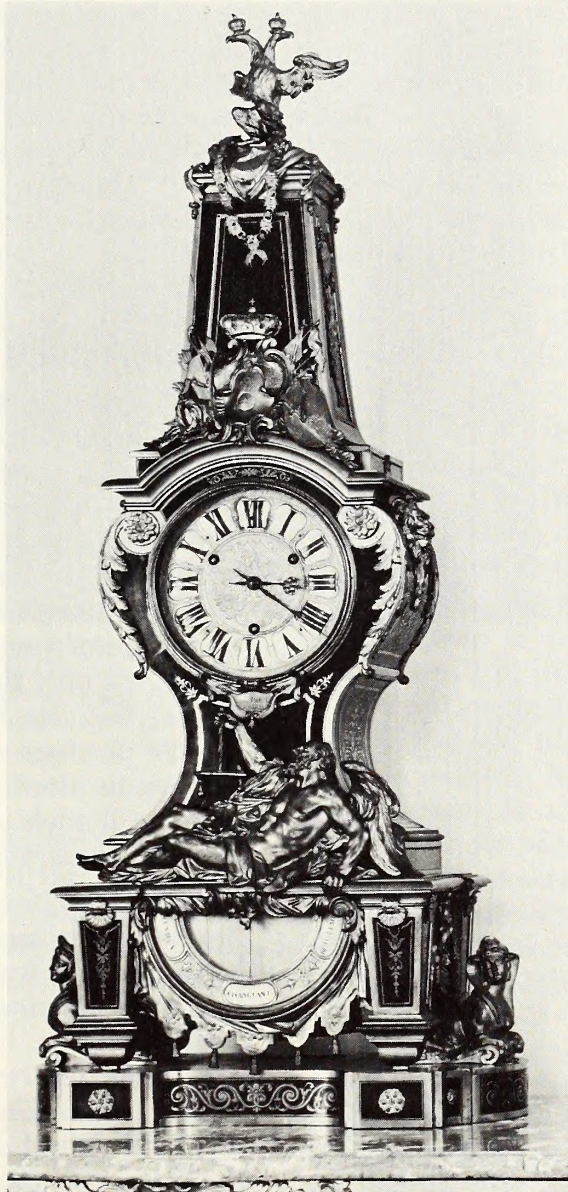


Fig. 5 André Charles Boulle (case) and Jacques Thuret (works) Clock (with barometer)
Zähringer Museum, Baden-Baden
Photo: *Connaissance des Arts* (Roger Guillemot)

bolism of the state. The Pordenone-derived figure functions as the symbol of Time, one of many symbols on the case of this state clock.

Once made, the bronze figure entered the repertory of the Boulle workshop. Though it appeared as the symbol of Time on a clock created for the Bavarian elector, the figure functions equally well in the much more relaxed and quasi-narrative composition described elsewhere as *Amor vincit Tempus* [Fig. 3]²⁰

Boulle's long career spanned many years. Although "the evolution of Boulle's style under the impulse of the awakening rococo was far from even,"²¹ the clock which he designed to bear the Cupid and Saturn mounts was not only popular, but a charming realization of many of the most modern tendencies in French taste as well. The classical dignity of the Saturn contrasts with the light frivolity of the Cupid. In the world of children at play there was no place for old age, just as time has no place in the world of love. Thus the Boulle Saturn occupies a curious dual position and, depending upon the compositions for which it was intended, can be properly called *Style Louis XIV* or *Style Régence*.

The Raleigh bronze is the product of a long evolution which began when Pordenone adopted the classic river god type to represent Time on his frescoed facade. Faithfully copied in Ugo da Carpi's woodcut, the figure was cast in bronze by Boulle and returned to its sculptural form. The derivation of the Raleigh cast does not stop here, however, for in its develop-

ment there is one additional step. It has been observed that the Boulle castings exist in two versions.²² A comparison between Fig. 1 and Fig. 5 will indicate some of the differences between the two figures.²³ The type represented in Fig. 1 (and also Caldwell, Fig. 2) is derivative, simplified, and somewhat awkward. The clocks on which it occurs are from a slightly later period than those on which the other figure is found.²⁴

The question is raised as to why a bronze mount which had served the master well in a number of commissions was suddenly discarded in favor of a very similar, though not quite so successful version of the same figure. A possible answer is found in the devastation caused by the fire of August 19, 1720, which consumed not only Boulle's priceless art collection but also his work rooms. Stockpiles of precious woods, finished and unfinished furniture, and the wooden, wax, and clay models which were used by the bronze casters were destroyed.²⁵

Undaunted, the seventy-eight year-old Boulle began immediately to reorganize his studio and was to continue its direction until his ninetieth year. It was necessary for him have many of the destroyed models remade. While the actual carving of the new model for the Saturn was perhaps not done by Boulle himself, the figure was produced in his workshop and at his direction.

Whether or not the differences in the Boulle figures are to be explained by the 1720 disaster, it remains that they are

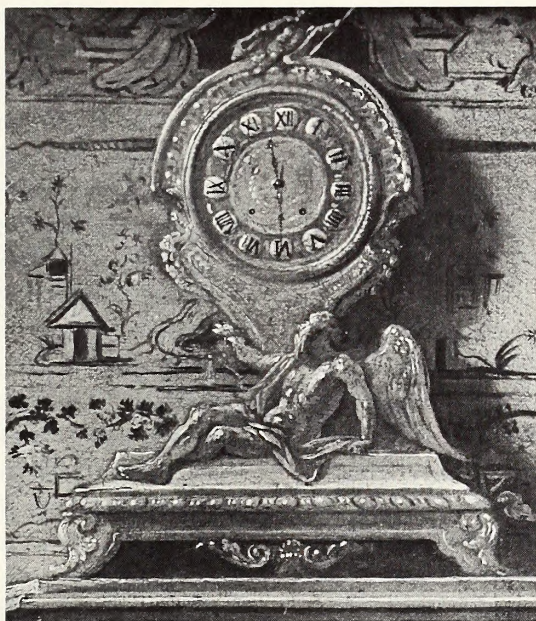


Fig. 3 Jean François de Troy
The Garter (detail)
 Oil on canvas; 25 x 20½ in. (whole)
 Collection of Mr. Harold D. Wimpfheimer, New York, N. Y.

both products of an intelligent, skillful, and celebrated artist. If the hypothesis is valid, the type of the Raleigh bronze takes on an additional significance. It is a visual proof of the vitality and resolu-

tion of a master who refused to give in to time and tragedy even when he himself was as old in appearance as the bronze figure which occupies such a meaningful place in his repertory of forms.

NOTES

1. Marilyn Caldwell, "Amor Vincit Tempus," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, VIII, No. 1 (September, 1968), pp. 26-35. Her Fig. 1 still carries the older attribution, "School of Bernini (Italy, 17th cent.) *Saturn Plaque*."

2. Caldwell, Figs. 2-5. A connection between this drawing and a number of contemporary clocks related to it was suggested by Lynsingh Scheuleer in "Parmigianino and Boulle," *Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII (1936), pp. 286-288. In his entry for the bracket clock, F41 (Caldwell, Fig. 2) in the *Furniture Catalogue* of The Wallace Collection, F. J. B. Watson added the clock in the background of the de Troy painting (Caldwell, Fig. 4) to a growing list of similar clocks.

Both this painting, *The Garter*, and its pendant, *The Declaration of Love* (Apollo, LXXXVII, No. 71 [January, 1968], cover illustration), exist in two almost identical versions. As there is every possibility that these two sets of similar paintings may be confused with one another, it is not out of place here to review the provenance of each pair. The set in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Wrightsman was formerly in the Thyssen Collection and before that in the Oscar Huldshinsky Collection. The other set is owned by Mr. Harold D. Wimpfheimer, having been purchased from Wildenstein Galleries in 1925, and before that time belonged to Mme. Evain (Paris) who acquired them from Comte Edmond Blanc. A detail of *The Garter* in the Wimpfheimer Collection is reproduced in Fig. 3.

3. Caldwell, p. 28.

4. Holes have been drilled through the bronze in several places, in the tip of the wing, in the right hand, through the right foot, and in the swoop of the drapery below the left hip. These holes, made possibly later, would have held screws by which this high relief plaque could be attached to a flat, vertical surface, either its present velvet pedestal or its earlier clock case. Gilt bronze mounts were commonly attached to furniture in this manner.

5. The following articles were cited in this summary: Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Parmigianino and Boulle," *Burlington Magazine*, LXVIII (1936), pp. 286-288; E. Tietze-Conrat, "Pordenone—and not Parmigianino," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIV (1939), p. 91; Baron Detlev von Hadeln, "A Drawing after an Important Lost Work by Pordenone," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIV (1924), p. 149.

Other articles relevant to the lost fresco and ultimately to the meaning of the Raleigh bronze are: Campbell Dodgson, "Marcus Curtius: A Woodcut after Pordenone," *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVII (1920), p. 61; E. Tietze-Conrat, "Decorative Paintings of the Venetian Renaissance Reconstructed from Drawings," *The Art Quarterly*, III, No. 1 (Spring, 1940), pp. 15-39.

Mentioned by Tietze-Conrat in "Pordenone—and not Parmigianino" as the drawing which perhaps served as the design for Ugo da Carpi's woodcut (but not

reproduced) is a "Figure of Time" in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth [Fig. 2]. In A. E. Popham's *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth* (A Loan Exhibition from the Devonshire Collection, circulated by the Smithsonian Institution, 1962-1963), No. 50 is described as a "Finished study for part of the decoration of the facade of the Palazzo d'Anna, Venice."

The type of figure chosen by Pordenone to fill the long narrow space near the upper right of his composition (cf. Caldwell, Fig. 7) seems to have been derived from statues of the ancient river gods. Similar in pose are the river god Marforio in the courtyard of the Capitoline Museum and the colossal figure of the Nile on the left of the outside steps of Michelangelo's Palazzo Senatorio. This later figure was taken for a statue of Saturn in the Middle Ages and described as such in the *Mirabilia Romae* or *Marvels of Rome* (cf. *Mirabilia Romae*, ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1869, p. 24).

6. Part of the confusion here results from the fact that the scales (or balance) is an attribute occasionally associated with Time, and is discussed in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611, p. 511 under "Tempo." Guy de Tervarent in *Attributs et Symbols dans l'Art Profane*, Geneva, Librairie E. Droz, 1958, p. 38, cites the woodcut by Ugo da Carpi as an example showing the balance [sic] in the hand of Time. For its strange and distinctive shapes to have been persistently misread as the familiar balance seems an injustice to at least three artists. François de Troy in his painting, *The Garter*, erred in representing this very detail. In the

Wrightsmen version of the painting (Caldwell, Fig. 4) he accurately recorded what he saw in the hand of the reclining figure, but in the Wimpfheimer version [Fig. 3] the figure holds aloft the suspended double pans of the balance, the artist having "corrected" what he felt to be a poorly modelled detail in the hand of the figure on the clock.

7. Edward T. Joy, *The Country Life Book of Clocks*, Feltham, Middlesex, The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1967, p. 26.

8. In a foliot of this type with fixed weights, the arms would have to be hinged to the main bar. The opening or closing of the angle between the arms and bar would serve to regulate the swing while the weights remain both constant and fixed.

The information was contained in a letter which I received from Mr. Edward T. Joy reporting a conversation which he had with Mr. P. G. Coole, Senior Conservation Officer, Ilbert Collection, British Museum concerning a photograph which I had sent Mr. Joy. I should like to express my gratitude to both Mr. Joy and Mr. Coole.

9. Cf. note 5, above.

10. The mischievous boy is Eros, tormentor of gods and men. It is he, rather than the aged god, who has caused the chronic aberrations. I cannot agree with Baron von Hadeln (cf. note 5, above) that "they [*i.e.* the subjects of the different scenes] seem to be very freely chosen and arbitrarily assembled." The opposite

seems to be the case. The large scenes of violence and sacrifice such as the "Rape of the Sabines" and the "Legend of Marcus Curtius" are all related to the early days of Rome (Caldwell, Fig. 7). Von Hadeln correctly identified the "Rape of Persephone" above the doorway, but did not mention the crouching female figure in the lower left corner, threatened by a creature half-human and half-eagle. I suggest that the "Rape of Persephone" was allegorically related to the *Sacco di Roma* of 1527 and that the eagle-headed being referred to the Hapsburg eagle [cf. Fig. 5, for the symbolic eagle] of Emperor Charles V for it was the Imperial troops who devastated Rome. A similar eagle-man actually beheading fallen Rome appears on a majolica plate recently illustrated in catalog of the Curt Bohneward sale (Lempertz-Auktion 501, *Sammlung Curt Bohneward*, Cologne, March 28, 1969, No. 115). On the reverse of the plate, made for the Strozzi family, appears the following inscription: "Dal fortunato Carlo Roma afflitta."

This is not the place to do more than suggest the theme of the Palazzo d'Anna facade, but I am convinced that the iconographic program was logical and therefore solvable.

11. According to Cyril, the early fifth century bishop of Alexandria, in his *Contra Julianum* (cf. Minge's *Patr. Graec.*, LXXVI, Col. 960-961), "The pagans represented Time by a serpent because it is long, swift in its movement and silent in its progress."

12. James George Frazer, "Saturn," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th. edition,

XXIV, pp. 231-232.

13. This "very complicated and varied series of events" of the separation and reunion is mapped out in the chapters "Saturn in the Literary Tradition" and "Saturn in the Pictorial Tradition" of *Saturn and Melancholy* by Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1964, pp. 125-214. As well as possessing an interesting and readable text, *Saturn and Melancholy* contains a large number of illustrations which are valuable in tracing the evolution of the god of Time.

14. Cf. Caldwell, note 21.

15. As the Pordenone drawing [Fig. 2] bears the collector's mark of William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire (1665-1729), a "D" and coronet, it entered the Devonshire collection during the lifetime of Boulle. Boulle was also acquiring works of art at this time. It is possible that he could have seen and sketched the original when it was offered for sale. The probability, however, is that Boulle owned one of the Ugo da Carpi woodcuts and it was his model.

16. Although he was the father of the Emperor Charles VII, Maximilian Emmanuel II was, himself, only Duke of Bavaria and a German elector. An avowed Francophile, he sided with France in the great struggle of the Spanish Succession. The elector owned a quantity of Boulle furniture and is known to have visited the Boulle *atelier* when in Paris. For a discussion of Maximilian Emmanuel II and

Boulle, cf. Pierre Verlet, "Les Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département des Objets d'Art," *Le Revue des Arts*, IV, March, 1954, pp. 43-48.

As F. J. B. Watson has indicated (p. 18), Jacques Thuret was related to Boulle and perhaps for this reason provided the works for a number of Boulle clocks. The clock "F43" (Caldwell, Fig. 3) in the Wallace Collection contains works by Thuret.

17. Maximilian Emmanuel II became a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1692.

18. The sphinxes on whose backs the clock seems to rest are not part of the Hapsburg-Bavarian iconography, but are stylistically related to the pyramidal form used for the clock. In addition, they could also be read as indicating both the eternal and destructive nature of Time. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries sphinxes became popular as mortuary sculpture and were also used in furniture design during this same period, having been introduced by several of the Louis XVI cabinet makers, among them, Beneman, Weisweiler, and Molitor.

19. Watson, pp. xxix, 10.

20. Caldwell, pp. 25-35. Nowhere does Mrs. Caldwell suggest that the Boulle *Saturn* could have been used in any other compositional theme. The Baden-Baden clock [Fig. 5] provides one alternate. In the famous *Exposition Rétrospective de l'Art Français des Origines à 1800* held in Paris in 1900 a clock was exhibited which showed a third compositional possibility. According to information in the

catalogue, this clock was made for the Cardinal de Rohan at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and at the time of the exhibition had become the property of the nation. The figure of Time is identical to that in Fig. 5 (cf. note 23, below). The shape of the case is similar to that in the de Troy paintings (Fig. 3), but the bronze mount above the dial is quite different. Here a winged female figure and a putto support an elaborate cartouche. The cheeks of the figure are filled with air, but her right hand is empty of the trumpet which she, as the figure of Fame, would have been holding to her lips. Empty too is the raised hand of the putto, his laurel crown, like the trumpet of Fame, having been lost in the course of two centuries.

21. Watson, p. xxvii.

22. Watson, p. 18, ". . . the figure of Time [Caldwell, Fig. 2], although very similar to that on No. F43 [Caldwell, Fig. 3], varies in the position of the hands and does not rest on so large a fold of drapery."

23. This same comparison can be made between Caldwell, Fig. 3 (the same type as Fig. 5) and Caldwell, Fig. 2 (here, Fig. 1).

On the Raleigh figure (Fig. 1) the drapery is much less voluminous, allowing for openings below the right arm and between the calves. The drapery does not cross the right thigh, nor does it extend behind the left hand. This hand rests on the molding for support, fingers extended. The outline of the wing is a smooth contour. The feathers are more incised than

modelled.

In contrast, the other version (Fig. 5) is almost enveloped in drapery, the right thigh hidden. The contour of the wing is irregular, having been built up of the heavy plumage of individually modelled feathers. The left hand grasps the ledge on which the figure sits. There is also a difference in the verge arbor (cf. Fig. 4, for this part of the mechanism). In Fig 1 it appears as a smooth rod, but in Fig. 5 it has a screw-like pattern, resembling diagonal fluting.

24. The bracket clock reproduced in Caldwell, Fig 2, has a backplate which is engraved "Martinot aux Galleries du Louvre 1726" (Watson, p. 18). In his earlier clocks Boulle had been assisted

by his kinsman Thuret (cf. note 16, above). Later he made arrangements with the Martinot family to supply him with the necessary works for his clocks.

An explanation of "the current independence" of the Raleigh *Saturn* is inferred by Mrs. Caldwell (Caldwell, note 3) from a statement included in the entry for this clock, F41 in the *Furniture Catalogue* of The Wallace Collection, p. 18.

25. The effects of the fire are discussed in a number of places. Cf. Watson, p. 11; Caldwell, note 21; and Lady Emilia F. S. Dilke's *French Furniture in the XVIII Century*, London, George Bell and Sons, 1911, pp. 145-147.

NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

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Three Black Artists p. 3
by Dorothy Rennie

Resolution Honoring the Life and
Memory of Robert Lee Humber p. 15

Albrecht Dürer's Life and Work p. 23
by Dr. Justus Bier



Fig. 1 Jacob Lawrence (Am., 1917-)
Forward
Tempera
North Carolina Museum of Art Purchase Fund

THREE BLACK ARTISTS

By Dorothy B. Rennie
Curator of Education
North Carolina Museum of Art

Over the past three years the North Carolina Museum of Art has acquired works by three black artists, two of whom are considered outstanding contemporary leaders in the art world — Jacob Lawrence and Romare Bearden.

Both men, Lawrence, 54, and Bearden, 57, are presently at the height of their artistic careers. While both artists have portrayed the social scene of their race, they have used distinctly different techniques, and their messages are uniquely individualistic.

Jacob Lawrence is regarded as the dean of black artists by today's young Negro artists; yet Lawrence was gaining favor with a few white art collectors and critics before many of these young black artists were born. Lawrence was born in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1917, but he grew up in Harlem. When he was about seven years old, he was sent to a settlement house after school so he would have supervision while his mother was at work. Here he received his first art les-

sons. He later studied at the College Art Association's Harlem Workshop, and at the American Artists School in New York.

The origins of his painting career go back to the Depression, the Federal Arts Project, and the Harlem Renaissance which began in the 1920's. The Harlem Renaissance was an attempt on the part of Negro intellectuals to examine and describe the experiences of the black people. Also known as the New Negro Movement, the efforts of Negro writers and painters of this period brought about a new cultural awakening among their race. Painters such as Hale Woodruff, Archibald Motley, and Aaron Douglas received commissions to paint murals on black life for Negro colleges and universities.

The Depression soon put a stop to this important kind of patronage. It was hard for any artist to find work during this period and according to Lawrence, "doubly difficult for black artists." Few Negro artists would have survived as artists had it not been for the Federal Arts Project, which put a whole generation of black and white artists to work painting murals in post offices and li-

braries, as well as illustrating books and teaching art.

Lawrence's first professional experience as an artist was with the Federal Arts Project. Working for the Harlem Arts Project, under the F.A.P., he painted scenes of everyday life in Harlem. His work attracted the attention of art dealers who were planning an exhibition of black artists in 1941. The plan of the exhibition was that each dealer add one of the artists to his own gallery after the exhibition. The opening of the show fell on Pearl Harbor Day, and only one dealer went through with the original plan, choosing Lawrence's work. The Downtown gallery in New York was one of the most important in the United States at that time, and Lawrence's work began to sell. About this time his series *The Migration of the Negro* was also featured in Fortune Magazine, and this brought him added recognition.

This series of sixty tempera panels, each 12 x 18 inches in size, tells the story of the great South-to-North migration of Negroes that began during the first World War and has continued ever since. The first wave of black migrants went North between 1916 and 1919. After immigration laws reduced the work. The Downtown Gallery, New York City, was one of the most important in European labor supply in this country, another great movement of Negroes to the North took place between 1921 and 1923. More than a million Negroes left the cotton fields of the South and settled in the big industrial cities — New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and St. Louis.

Shortly after Lawrence's work from the Migration Series was featured in Fortune, half of the series was acquired for the Phillips Collection in Washington, D. C. and the other half was purchased by the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Lawrence was the first Negro American artist to receive this kind of acclaim in his own country, and at the age of 25.

Recognition for Romare Bearden did not come quite so early. He was 30 before his first important one-man show at the G Place Gallery in Washington, D. C. Bearden began his artistic career as a cartoonist. While he was an undergraduate majoring in mathematics at New York University he began producing caricatures for *The Magpie*, a campus magazine. He was also doing a weekly cartoon feature for the Baltimore *Afro-American*, a nationally known Negro newspaper. Several months after graduation from New York University, he began study under George Grosz at the Art Students League, with the hope of finding better ways of getting a social message into his cartoons. But his study with Grosz changed his outlook, and he began to regard himself as a painter.

It took him several years after leaving the Art Students League to find his own style. His early paintings done in tempera were drawn from Negro life, and interestingly enough, with emphasis on Negro life in the South rather than the North. While Bearden was born in Charlotte, N. C., in 1914, he grew up in Pittsburgh, and like Lawrence spent much of his youth in Harlem. Lawrence and Bearden



Fig. 2 Jacob Lawrence
Ten Fugitives
 Tempera (1967)
 Collection: Mr. and Mrs. Meyer Potamkin
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Photo: Courtesy Terry Dintenfass, Inc.

have in common their "125th Street Experience." Both had studios on the main thoroughfare of Harlem — — Bearden's was above Lawrence's at 33 West 125th Street. While there were similarities in their early Harlem backgrounds, their careers developed in different directions. Lawrence received two Rosenwald Fellowships from 1940-1942 and a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1946. He also taught at Black Mountain College in North Carolina in 1946, and traveled in the South in 1947 executing 10 paintings on a commission for *Fortune Magazine*.

Bearden, after several one-man exhibitions from 1945-1948, went to Paris in 1950 on the G.I. Bill to study for 18 months, and after his return to New York began experimentations which led to his present style.

The third black artist represented in the North Carolina Museum of Art Collection is Ellis Wilson, who is of an earlier generation than Lawrence and Bearden. Wilson is now in his 70's. He was born in Mayfield, Kentucky, in 1900.

After finishing high school, he left his home town to attend Kentucky State Col-



Fig. 3 Jacob Lawrence
A Foothold on the Rocks
 Tempera (1967)
 Collection: Mr. and Mrs. Murray Handwerker
 Lawrence, N. Y.
 Photo: Courtesy Terry Dintenfass, Inc.

lege for Negroes for two years. At the age of 20 he went to Chicago and studied art for four years at the Chicago Art Institute. During this time he supported himself by working in a cafeteria. He first studied commercial art and interior

decorating at the Art Institute, but soon found this inhibited his development as an artist more than it helped him. He worked for four and a half years in a Wall Street brokerage house, but this employment ended with the Depression. Again,



Fig. 4 Jacob Lawrence
Daybreak, a Time to Rest
 Tempera (1967)
 Collection: Mrs. Jacob Lawrence
 New York, N. Y.
 Photo: Courtesy Terry Dintenfass, Inc.

it was the Federal Arts Project which came to Wilson's rescue. He joined the project early in 1935 and stayed with it into the 40s. He began to exhibit his own paintings in the last years of his W.P.A. employment. His work changed consider-

ably during this period. His early paintings were academic, but gradually he turned to a freer, more expressive style of painting. His reputation as an artist grew through exhibitions such as the Negro Exhibition in Chicago in 1940,

and an exhibition with a group of New York artists at the New York World's Fair.

In 1943 Wilson went to work in an airplane factory, and there became interested in painting his co-workers. He did sketches during his lunch hour and rest periods. Then, at home, he transferred his ideas to canvas. These paintings won for him two Guggenheim Fellowships in 1944 and 1945. At the age of 44, for the first time in his life, he was able to devote himself entirely to painting. His project for two years was to be a series of paintings depicting Negroes at work in agriculture and industry. For three months he traveled through the South sketching the black man at his various tasks. These paintings were not without some social comment on the condition of the Negro in the South, but generally they were quite gay and humorous, with bright, rich colors.

Of our three artists, Lawrence is essentially the pictorial story-teller. To tell a story he has often turned to executing a series of paintings on one theme. The Museum's painting *Forward* (Figure 1) comes from such a series. It is one of four tempera paintings (Figures 2, 3 and 4) portraying the abolitionist Harriet Tubman leading a group of escaping slaves to freedom. These four panels were painted after Lawrence had completed seventeen paintings for the children's book, "Harriet and the Promised Land," which was published in 1968. Although Harriet Tubman was armed when leading the slaves to freedom, the artist was advised by his publisher not to have her armed in the paintings to be used for the

children's book. This, along with other restrictions on the book, led the artist to do the series of four other paintings on Harriet Tubman which would give him complete freedom.¹

Harriet Tubman was born a slave in Dorchester County, Maryland, in 1820 or 1821. While she was in her twenties she escaped to the North to gain her freedom. Risking her life, she returned to the South nineteen times to lead over 300 of her people out of slavery. Of the 300 and more fugitives led to freedom by Harriet, not one was ever recaptured, even though large rewards were offered for the return of these fugitives, and the price on Harriet's head was \$40,000.

Speaking about his art Lawrence has stated² that he works a long time on the idea for a painting. When it is an historical subject, much research precedes the thinking out of his ideas, design, and composition; but once all the preliminary work has been done, the actual painting of a picture is accomplished quickly and spontaneously. Lawrence's simplicity of design reveals his deep understanding of the essential nature of things and events. With a sharp angle or a bold color the artist may express anger, or a rounded figure may portray grief. In the Museum's painting *Forward* (Figure 1) the figure of Harriet Tubman is the pivot around which all the action originates. The artist has created a great feeling of opposing forces with the strong left arm and hand of Harriet thrust against the arched body of one of the slaves. The blunt revolver in Harriet's right hand helps in expressing the strong feeling of a forward movement

of determination and courage. Harriet's revolver was not only used for protection against would-be captors, but also as a prodder to the foot-sore, weary slaves who felt that could not take another step, and who often wanted to turn back rather than face an unknown future.

Ten Fugitives, (Figure 2), is closer in design to *Forward* than the other two panels of this series; but here the mood is one of cautiousness, grief, and fear — cautiousness in the alert Harriet with her steady shotgun, grief in the bowed figures of the mothers holding their



Fig. 5 Romare Bearden (Am. 1914-)
Folk Musicians (c. 1941-42)
 Gouache and casein on composition board
 Collection: Nanette Rohan Bearden
 Photo: Courtesy The Museum of Modern Art



Fig. 6 Romare Bearden
Carolina Blue
 Screenprint collage
 North Carolina Museum of Art Purchase Fund

drugged babies, and fear in the exaggerated gesture of the slave on the right. But in spite of fear and grief Harriet led her charges through rivers, around forests, and up rocky cliffs to the "Promised Land" — the state of New York and Canada.

Often pursuit for the escaping slaves

was very close and vigorous. Every house in an area would be visited and the woods scoured in all directions while each fugitive hid behind his own tree or in a ditch. The urgency of such pursuit can be felt in *A Foothold On the Rocks* (Figure 3). Here the figure of Harriet braced against the rocks with her strong

arm stretched taut and her hand locked around the wrist of the straining mother creates a strong feeling again of opposing forces — an upward pull against weight and gravity. It is interesting to note that the artist has painted his characters and landscapes with a minimum of detail. Bodies are covered with nondescript simple clothes, and the escaping slaves carry no possessions. The landscapes are bare and desolate stretches, with no hint of vegetation except in the last painting of the series

titled *Daybreak, A Time to Rest* (Figure 4). Here plant and insect life in the foreground of the painting, so near Harriet's bare feet, help to create a creepy feeling of uncertainty and watchfulness, even though the fugitives are resting and half-asleep.

Lawrence refers to himself as "an expressionist working through color mainly." His style employs flattened forms with sharp edges and large color areas, remotely derived from cubism. His style has changed very little over the years, but



Fig. 7 Ellis Wilson (Am., 1900-)
To Market
 Panel
 North Carolina Museum of Art Special Gift Fund

he no longer confines himself to Negro themes. His most recent paintings depict the laborer.

Bearden's present style has evolved out of his desire to master color and flat, near-abstract design. His earliest works were tempera paintings done on brown paper, and these early scenes, such as *Folk Musicians* (Figure 5), are basically stylized statements of Negro life expressed colorfully with simple forms.

The artist has now turned from painting to collage. His subtle compositions, intense colors, and manipulation of materials have raised his collage to the level of the best modern painting, and his technical proficiency has gained him much praise from today's art critics. The screen-print collage, *Carolina Blue* (Figure 6), purchased by the North Carolina Museum of Art in 1970, is from an edition of 100. It is typical of Bearden's present style in its powerful flat patterns of Cubist form and vivid op colors.

Bearden's work has progressed from the early almost primitive pieces to more complex and sophisticated expressions. Many influences have crept into his work — Byzantine mosaics and African sculpture being two of the major ones. The artist has also studied the paintings of De Hooch and Vermeer, especially their methods of controlling large shapes. While Bearden uses a multiplicity of forms in his collages, sometimes concentrated closely together, he also seems to be fascinated with large rectangular areas of color which prevent a feeling of overcrowding.

Speaking about his works,³ Bearden

has stated that he has tried to show in many of his collages that the courtyard was as important to American Southern life as it was in the Holland of De Hooch and Vermeer. In *Carolina Blue* one feels it is a courtyard scene with the males congregated for talk and eating. One male holds what appears to be a pork chop in his hand. The isolated figure through the doorway evidently represents the female at household duties. The artist has combined American and African allusions in his collages. Here two of the faces are closely related to African masks. As in his other collages the difference of scale in *Carolina Blue* contributes to its shock value.

To Market (Figure 7) by Ellis Wilson, lacks the gaiety of color found in much of his work. The artist has used sober browns and neutral colors against a rose-colored background. The painting is executed in oils in a sketchy, wash technique, and the use of turpentine as a paint medium has given the panel a "dry" effect. *To Market* also comes from a series of paintings which the artist executed after traveling in Haiti. Asked why he painted his characters without facial features, the artist explained⁴ that at a distance the black skin of the natives glistened so in the brilliant sunlight of Haiti that features were very hard to distinguish. At this time in his painting career Wilson was also trying to break away from an academic art training, and this spontaneous kind of painting gave him the freedom he was seeking.

The artist has created a feeling of forward movement in *To Market*, as Law-

rence has done in *Forward* (Figure 1). But here the movement is not a determined one of opposing forces, rather a slow and rhythmic kind, with a staccato pattern of feet, arms and faces all turned in the same direction.

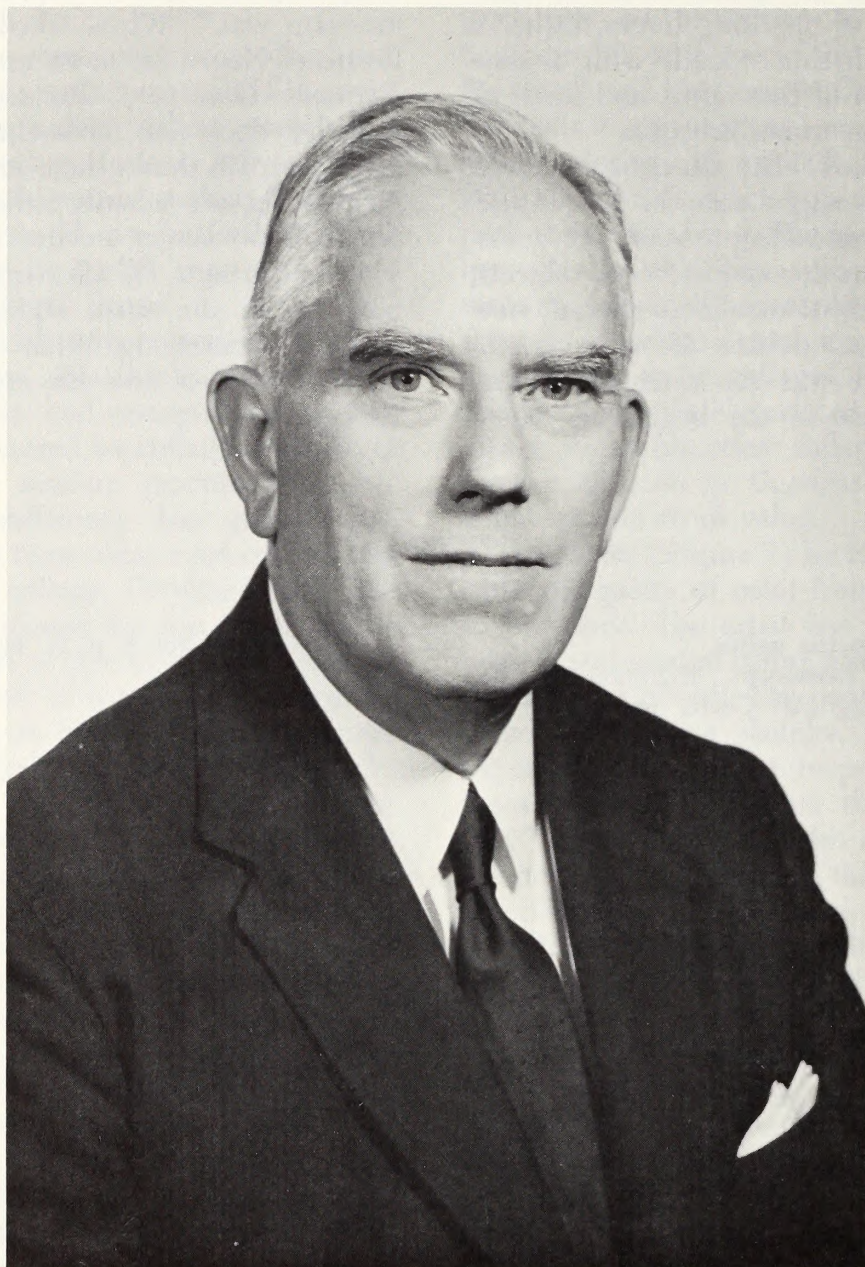
When asked what direction black art in America might take in the future, Wilson was unwilling to venture a guess. After 30 years devoted to Negro subjects, Lawrence now takes a more tolerant view of the race-art debate. He tells his students, "Race was the main motivating factor for me in the beginning, but I

think the question of a black esthetic is an individual one. If you find it, it can motivate you.⁵" When asked about the future of Negro art in an article in *The National Observer*,⁶ Romare Bearden said he does not foresee a distinctly Negro art. He thinks there are too many Negroes in art schools today, and the Negro is no longer isolated from white society. He says, "If all Negroes started painting in the same style, now that would be something. What they can do is to bring their own life style to what they paint."

NOTES

1. Letter to the writer.
2. "Jacob Lawrence: Migration of The Negro" Catalog: Art Center in Hargate Exhibition.

3. "Leonardo", Vol. 2, p. 17. Pergamon Press, 1969.
4. Letter to the writer
5. Ibid.
6. *National Observer*, May 11, 1970.



In Memoriam
Dr. Robert Lee Humber (1898-1970)

RESOLUTION HONORING THE LIFE AND MEMORY OF ROBERT LEE HUMBER

"Whereas Robert Lee Humber set forth with high purpose on a quest to improve the quality of cultural life in North Carolina and

Whereas with single-minded zeal, determined vitality and a glowing sense of adventure he reached this goal by pioneering the acquisition of a great Museum of Art

"Now, therefore, be it resolved that we, the members of the Board of Trustees of the North Carolina Museum of Art and the Resolutions Committee will ever continue to listen for the echo and re-echo of Robert Lee Humber's eloquence on behalf of his state, his nation and his ideals for the arts and world peace, that we pay loving tribute to his memory and forever keep his image bright, that we dedicate this institution to his goals for its excellence and that we vow to continue his magnificent quest to make North Carolina one of the cultural centers of the world.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be made a part of the permanent records of the North Carolina Museum of Art, and further that a copy of this resolution be furnished to Mrs. Robert Lee Humber.

Signed:

Governor Robert W. Scott

Former Governor Dan K. Moore

Former Governor Terry Sanford

Former Governor Luther H. Hodges

Mrs. L. Y. Ballentine, Member, Board of Trustees

Mrs. James H. Semans, Chairman, Resolutions Committee Member, Board of Trustees

BIOGRAPHY OF DR. ROBERT LEE HUMBER

Robert Lee Humber, attorney, indefatigable worker for peace, pioneer for the arts and great humanitarian, was born in Greenville, North Carolina, May 30, 1898. He was the son of Robert Lee and Lena Clyde (Davis) Humber. A graduate of Wake Forest College, Robert Lee Humber received three degrees from that institution, an AB in 1918, an LLB in 1921 and an LLD in 1949. Immediately following his undergraduate days, he served as a second lieutenant in the United States Field Artillery during World War I.

The horror of war's destruction had a deep effect on Dr. Humber and he made a commitment to do all in his power to prevent wars in the future. Throughout this period he was deeply involved in studying and analyzing governments and all forms of international proposals for cooperation. Returning to private life he tutored in the department of government, history and economics at Harvard University from 1919-1920 and in that year was admitted to the North Carolina bar. Dr. Humber was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, England, in 1923, received a master's degree at Harvard in 1926 and served as an American Field Service Fellow at the Sorbonne from 1926-1928.

While in France he developed an abiding affection for that country and its culture and it was there that he met Lucie Berthier, who in 1929 became his wife. For the next ten years he lived in Paris as an attorney for an oil company. The location provided an ideal point from which to observe the rise and decline of

the League of Nations. With the rise of Hitler, in Dr. Humber's words, "Diplomacy surrendered to the criminal." The Humber family fled France and returned to the United States.

The pursuit of ideals in preference to material gain caused Dr. Humber to refuse many attractive business offers from various parts of the United States and he settled in his native Greenville, where in 1940 he began his crusade toward world federation. By "federation" he meant an organization within which each country would retain domestic sovereignty, delegating to a world government only such powers as are needed to maintain law and order. The world federalist movement began in Dr. Humber's cottage on Davis Island off the Atlantic coast on Dec. 27, 1940, when thirty-nine of his neighbors from all walks of life gathered to listen to their host read his declaration on world federation under the oaks by the beach.

"There exists an international community encompassing the entire world," he said, "which has no government and which is destined either to be ruthlessly dominated by totalitarianism or to be federated by democracy upon the principle of freedom for all nations and individuals. All human beings are citizens of this world community, which requires laws and not treaties for its government."

The unanimous endorsement of this declaration by his friends that day inspired him to make his crusade a great people's movement. He visited every county in North Carolina, speaking on an average of twice a day wherever he could

find an audience great or small. He urged everyone to lobby for the resolution with his legislator; and in March, 1941, North Carolina became the first state in history to endorse World Federation. Dr. Humber then carried his pioneering to other states across the country, covering over 300,000 miles, by day coach or bus, speaking individually to governors, converting legislators and at one period of time giving a speech forty-five nights in succession. By March, 1950, sixteen state legislatures had passed a resolution in support of the "Declaration of the Federation of the World." Feeling always that a demand for federation by the people themselves was preferable to an arbitrary establishment of a national organization, he adhered sternly to his policy of educating people toward this goal.

In his Danforth lecture at East Carolina College delivered in October, 1956, Dr. Humber said, "The United Nations today surpasses any endeavor previously made to preserve world peace." Though he always felt its concept only a step along the way, he represented the Southern Council on International Relations in 1945 at the San Francisco Conference which formulated the United Nations Charter.

As co-founder of United World Federalists in 1947 Dr. Humber worked for its tenets unceasingly; and while they have never been fully realized, the cause of world peace has been strongly undergirded by these noble beginnings.

There is a statement in the minutes of the State Art Society written on the occasion of the death of Robert Lee Humber which expresses this eloquently:

"If on some magnificent tomorrow there is founded a federation of nations strong enough to keep the peace, his name will stand high on the roster of those who helped to bring it into being."

North Carolina was always the center of Robert Lee Humber's universe. He brought the world to it, and turned it to the world. Lord Clark in his volume *Civilisation* writes, "Above all, I believe in the God-given genius of certain individuals, and I value a society that makes their existence possible." North Carolina's Dr. Humber was one of these great creative minds and he labored constantly to enrich the quality of life in the State. In 1945 he turned his interests toward the arts. He joined the State Art Society, of which he remained a treasured member the rest of his life and served as its president. At this time he began his efforts to develop a state museum of art. He had the daring inspiration to request of Samuel Kress, philanthropist and art collector, a million dollars for works of art, provided he could obtain a like appropriation from the North Carolina Legislature. An incredulous Mr. Kress agreed to this on the provision that his gift remain anonymous. A bill to appropriate such a large sum of money for the State purchase of art on the mere verbal promise of matching funds by an anonymous donor seemed to have less likelihood of passage than any ever introduced into any legislature anywhere. But Robert Lee Humber's devoted determination and unparalleled salesmanship had quickened the hearts of our lawmakers and the appropriation bill passed on April 7, 1947.

Robert Lee Humber had masterminded a dream which became a reality, an achievement unprecedented in American history. Later ensued the tragedy of Samuel H. Kress' death, but the Kress Foundation generously honored its verbal commitment. However, instead of a gift of money, actual works of art were offered. The value of the Kress Foundation gift actually came to more than \$2,500,000. In 1951 a State Art Commission was appointed to acquire a collection, with Dr. Humber as chairman. "Our task," said Dr. Humber, "is to maintain eternal vigilance and a sleepless sensitivity against substituted inferior forms of beauty for time-tested canvases of grace and splendor." The North Carolina Museum of Art opened its doors to the public on April 6, 1956, with a collection representing the eight Schools of Western Painting.

His efforts on behalf of this unique art institution continued unceasingly. He tracked down possible donors all over the United States and responded to calls from all parts of the world regarding potential gifts of works of art. As chairman of the museum board of trustees from its establishment until the day of his death he never allowed an opportunity for promoting the museum or making an acquisition for it to slip by. He represented the institution with elegance and impassioned zeal. He was eager that the children of North Carolina should have available to them the finest examples of art of the past and present in order to enrich their lives and provide them with limitless cultural opportunities.

During the last year of his life Dr.

Humber drew up the charter and established the North Carolina Museum of Art Foundation by which to obtain new resources for that institution, and he served on the State Art Museum Building Commission, contributing much time and energy to its travel committee which was organized to inspect museum construction in various parts of the world. He wanted the museum to be a shrine of national culture, forever growing.

Wherever the people of his state needed help, Dr. Humber was at hand. He cared about people and felt deeply for them. He was interested in promoting the cause of technological education and was a trustee of the Pitt County Industrial Education Center and served as the chairman of its board and that of the Pitt Technical Institute from 1964 until his death. He played an active role in the development of community colleges and was vice president of the Community College Trustees Association from 1967-68 and president for the following year. He was an invaluable member of the Governor's Study Committee in Vocational Rehabilitation in 1967, taking much time to draft resolutions that would help the handicapped in their quest for a life of equal opportunity.

In the words of William Snider of the *Greensboro Daily News*, "Dr. Humber had many of the qualities of the true Renaissance Man." His interests extended to all of the arts and the humanities. He was a member of the North Carolina Conservatory of Music Committee in 1962, which led to the establishment of the North Carolina School of the Arts. He was an active member of the Tryon

Palace Commission, the State Capitol Planning and Heritage Square Commission, the Roanoke Island Historical Association, the Edenton and Chowan County Historical Association, the Pitt County Historical Society, the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, the Tar River Basin Association, and the Coastal Plain Planning and Development Commission. He served the Rachel Maxwell Moore Art Foundation as trustee, then vice president and president for the span of years from 1963-1970. He was a trustee of the North Carolina Symphony Society for sixteen years. Many of these organizations he served as president or chairman.

Dr. Humber's many services to the state also encompassed a governmental role. From 1959-1963 he was a member of the North Carolina Senate, and it was during this time that he outlined his imaginative plan for the establishment of the North Carolina Awards, modeled after the Nobel prizes, honoring citizens of the State for their accomplishments in the fields of scholarship, research, the fine arts and public leadership. The General Assembly adopted his concept and North Carolina instituted its annual award night for recognition of the creative people surrounding us in our state. In 1968 Dr. Humber himself received the North Carolina Award for Public Service.

Forever loyal to Wake Forest College he served both as member of its board of trustees and chairman of the board. He was also vice president of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention in 1947 and served as a trustee of Meredith College.

In addition to his membership in the Rotary Club, the Harvard Club, Phi Beta Kappa, Omicron Delta Kappa, Sigma Phi Epsilon and Phi Delta Phi, he was a dedicated member of the Watauga Club, an honorary member of Epsilon Pi Tau Fraternity, which is the international professional fraternity in Industrial Arts and Industrial Vocational Education.

In December, 1969, Dr. Humber was elected to the Century Association of New York City, his name having been proposed by Paul Manship, the sculptor and designer of the North Carolina Award medal.

Dr. Humber received many honors. In 1948 he was awarded the World Government News Medal for the most outstanding service by an individual to World Federation; also in 1948 the American War Dads Prize for the greatest single contribution toward world peace. In 1967 he received the American Freedom Association's Peace Award, and in 1966 he was awarded the Salmagundi Medal for Enduring Service to Art on State and National Level by the Salmagundi Club, which is the oldest art club in America. He received honorary degrees from Wake Forest University, the University of North Carolina and Duke University.

Just as Dr. Humber returned to North Carolina for his life's work, so he made his lifetime home in his native city of Greenville. There he served the Memorial Baptist Church as deacon and trustee and taught Sunday School. It was these firm ties to his family, home, church and heritage which endeared him to his friends and all those around him.

Wherever and whenever Robert Lee

Humber appeared, one expected to see Lucie Humber beside him — devoted, supportive, proud of her husband's accomplishments and aspirations. His pride in his sons, Marcel Berthier and John Leslie, was stirringly evident and a recent photograph of Robert Lee Humber and his grandchildren conveys the warmth and joviality mutually enjoyed.

In a special issue of the *North Carolina Architect*, dedicated to the North Carolina Museum of Art, May-June, 1967, Jane Hall wrote: "Everytime a North Carolinian visits the Museum, though he may not be aware of it, he is saying thanks to Mr. Humber in silent affection and esteem. For that is how a State pays a debt of gratitude to a private citizen, through the happy ever-increasing daily use of that citizen's accomplishment."

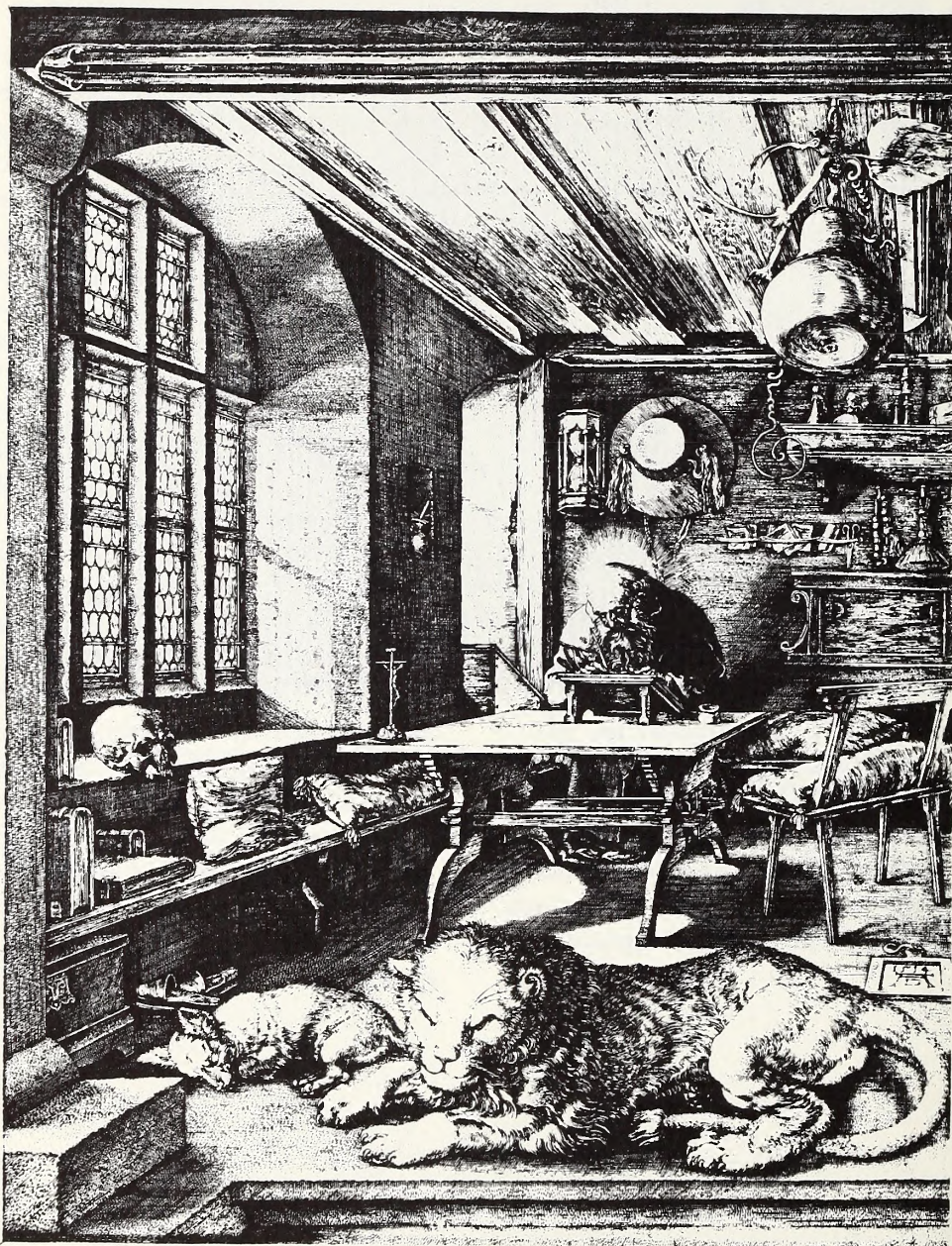
A man of supreme faith has been in our midst. A man of infinite reach who in his selflessness was convinced of a great reserve of decency and concern in his fellowmen. Robert Lee Humber's conviction made us believe in our own ability to accomplish big things, and his buoyant idealism gave us a sense that all things

are possible under God. He had a particular talent for imparting a sense of permanence, assurance and stability. Perhaps this derived in part from his personal dignity, elegance and charm of manner. He embodied lasting qualities of purposefulness, commitment and compassion; and one of his most endearing characteristics was a sort of old-fashioned courtesy. He was beloved by those from every walk of life, and he made each person who crossed his path aware that Robert Humber cared about him. One felt a modest humility about him. His causes were in the foreground but not Robert Humber as a person. This was because he was convinced, as he wrote a friend in May, 1967, that he had been "only the instrument through which the energies of others had flowed."

On November 10, 1970, Robert Lee Humber died while watching the film "War and Peace" with his wife, Lucie, in a theater close to his Greenville home. With his passing North Carolina has lost one of its most dedicated servants and the North Carolina Museum of Art its closest friend.



Dr. Robert Lee Humber (left) engaged in a favorite activity—lecturing on art at the North Carolina Museum of Art.



Albrecht Dürer (Ger. 1471-1528)
St. Jerome in His Study
Engraving
Collection: Mr. Charles W. Stanford
Raleigh, North Carolina

ALBRECHT DÜRER'S LIFE AND WORK

On the Occasion of the 500th Anniversary of His Birth

by Dr. Justus Bier

Director Emeritus and Curator of Research,
North Carolina Museum of Art

On May 21, 1971, we celebrated the 500th anniversary of Albrecht Dürer's birth. This great son of the German city of Nuremberg died young, on April 26, 1528. He did not even reach the age of fifty-seven, and the fruits of his old age never had a chance to ripen. All the more do we marvel at the wealth of his output of paintings and graphic work, crowded as it was into four decades of adolescence and manhood.

Albrecht Dürer was the third child of a poor goldsmith who had come to Nuremberg from Hungary. Fifteen more children followed, making a total of eighteen. But Albrecht, named after his

father, always remained the elder Dürer's special favorite. Even at an early age the boy displayed unusual intellectual and creative sensitivity, and this endeared him to his parent.

Young Albrecht was allowed to attend school, a practice not at all common at the time and, after learning to read and write, was apprenticed to his father in his goldsmith's shop. Unfortunately, this did not work out well. Albrecht's inclinations were more towards painting; so, his father, sensibly if reluctantly, because in his opinion, precious time had been wasted, apprenticed him to Michael Wolgemut, the painter.

Dürer was then fifteen. He stayed with Wolgemut for three years, during which time he "had to suffer greatly" from some of Wolgemut's journeymen. These coarse fellows apparently delighted in taunting Dürer and playing practical jokes on a young man who, though no weakling physically, but of strong and manly physique, was possessed of a sensitivity totally alien to them. Dürer was, after all, a creative genius, interested in things of the spirit. He was, in the language of that day, "of subtle inclinations."

In 1489, at the age of eighteen, after three years of apprenticeship, Dürer left Nuremberg for the first time, to see the world and gather experience from other masters' workshops. His absence lasted for four years. During the second year of his wanderings he went to Colmar hoping to find Martin Schongauer, the great painter and engraver. Alas, he came too late! Schongauer had died a few months before Dürer's arrival.

After spending some time with Schongauer's brothers, Dürer continued on his journeyman's trip to Basle, Switzerland, where he worked as a woodcutter. His last stop in 1494, before he was recalled by his father, was in Strasbourg.

On his return to Nuremberg he set up a household of his own. He married Agnes Frey, the daughter of a wealthy and resourceful gentleman who was particularly adept at things mechanical. The match was pre-arranged, according to a contract drawn up by the fathers. There were no children, and the union does not seem to have been very happy. A Dürer drawing shows his wife looking the resolute, practical and rather unimaginative

female she was. The wedding was celebrated on July 7, 1494. Already towards the end of that year or, at the latest, early the following year, Dürer left his wife and home town to make his way to Italy which, at this very period, was becoming the leading center in European art.

Dürer had already had contact with works of Italian masters; he had been attracted by their lucid and transparent austerity, which was in strong contrast to the fantastic and luxuriant growth rampant in Northern works of the time. As indication one need only look at Adam Kraft's Tabernacle in St. Lawrence's Church in Nuremberg.

While Dürer had carefully copied some of Mantegna's engravings, he was now thirsting to see and learn more, to take his fill on the spot, and to absorb the new art "of classical character."

From Michael Wolgemut, to whom he had been apprenticed, Dürer had learned technique and practical know-how. The influence that the city of Nuremberg had had on him was greatest in the realm of total development as a person, for he found great inspiration in the artistic and intellectual life of the town. However, Nuremberg's impact on Dürer as a painter was of lesser significance.

It was the years of his *Wanderschaft* which brought before his eyes the whole spectrum of late Gothic art in Southern Germany which shaped his style: Schongauer in particular had a strong effect on Dürer during this early period. It was the *form*, though, more than the *content* of Schongauer's work that impressed

him: form, as a plastic and spatial clarification of the appearance of the image, and the purity and terseness of Schongauer's drawings. The content of Schongauer's work Dürer found less appealing. To Dürer who was vigorous, almost harsh, in his virile, typically Nuremberg approach, Schongauer's treatment of subject matter must have appeared overly sentimental, even priggish and therefore had to be rejected by him.

In Italy he found art that sought the meaningful and the great; art, which placed man in his old dignity as the center of creation, and which took the human figure as the measure of all form. Dürer's genius was in no way diminished through his contact with a new and foreign world. On the contrary — energies that had lain hidden and dormant until now were released and manifested themselves in powerful creations such as the big series of woodcuts of the *Apocalypse*. Works of this grandeur would have been unthinkable without the inner growth and reinforcement experienced in Italy. Late Gothic grace which had dominated every stroke and gesture up to this point was being stripped away; anxious, symmetrical composition now gives way to monumental and grand design. The prominence of the small woodcuts is assumed by graphic works of huge format.

Ten years after his first stay Dürer went back to Italy for a second time; this sojourn allowed him to enter into the spirit of Italian art even more intimately. But now his feeling for *form* reached a breaking point. Dürer took from Italian art not only what was suitable for him;

he went further. This time he tried to express himself like an Italian and, as a consequence, his art developed an artificial trend. It took years for him to recapture that old force and vigor, characteristic of his earlier work in which, according to Northern tradition, man is at the center of his environment instead of being isolated from it—where visions and designs are simple, if more fanciful, rather than artificially constructed and somewhat contrived.

Dürer's first journey to Italy had brought forth the *Apocalypse* with its powerful visions and the great heroic representations of the Passions. Also a series of intimate and serene representations of the Life of Mary. All of these woodcuts were drawn in a completely innovative and highly expressive linear style. The Italian experience is present in every stroke, but contained and suggestive rather than strongly apparent. After the second Italian sojourn, alas, Dürer tried out formalistic, grandiose design, his joy at being able to use newly gained knowledge of composition and perspective gaining the upper hand. Something was lost in the process. There is a disharmony between a characteristically Northern, intense inner feeling and the more ostentatious style of the Italian Renaissance. To this period belong the impressive panels of Adam and Eve. Here he takes up the theme of the perfect human body. His first encounter with it had been an engraving done before his second Italian journey. Time and again this task would preoccupy Dürer's mind until, finally, he laid down its theoretical



Albrecht Dürer
Bearing of the Cross
 Engraving
 Collection: Mr. Charles W. Stanford
 Raleigh, North Carolina

solution in his masterful treatise on the proportions of the human body.

These panels of Adam and Eve, with their noble rhythm, were followed by a monumental altar piece for the Dominican church in Frankfurt. Commissioned by one Jakob Heller, it depicts the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. There is a disparity between the grand and compact design of Mary in the air

and the commonplace appearance of the apostles, assembled around the coffin. They, it turns out, were modeled from lower middle-class characters. A whole series of works appeared in quick succession, but only the last painting of this short period does full credit to Dürer's genius: in this, the Landauer Altarpiece, executed for the Landauer Chapel in Nuremberg in 1511, is found the strong

Northern quality of composition. In this great painting the Trinity, surrounded by the Heavenly Hosts, floats in the air above the earth, like a gigantic vision.

There was continuous growth. Dürer gradually assimilated and made his own the monumental compositional form that originally he had borrowed from Italian art. The year 1513 produced the engraving "Knight, Death and the Devil," a truly great work. This was followed in 1514, a year which might be called the high water mark, by two of Dürer's finest engravings: "Melancholia" and "St. Jerome in His Cell." In these "master engravings" Dürer handled the engraver's point with miraculously fine skill and convincing strength.

In the years following there was a slight decline of strength, vigor and productivity. Dürer must have felt the need for new and fresh first-hand impressions.

In the spring of 1520, in order to gain the patronage of the new emperor Charles V, he departed for the Netherlands. He wanted to obtain confirmation of an honorary stipend granted him provisionally by Emperor Maximilian, now deceased. The Netherlands, alive with artistic and intellectual activity, inspired him greatly. We learn from his diary how rich and varied were the contacts he made and the impressions he gained during this trip. Minute accounting details are interspersed with reports of a historical and sociological nature: some of the germs of the Reformation were to be found in the Netherlands. Dürer was deeply affected by this movement, and when he read reports of Luther's death, reports that later proved to be false, he

was shaken to the core. According to his own testimony Dürer held Luther in the highest regard as a spiritual force whose inspiration had aided him greatly in times of personal stress.

For Dürer the art of portraiture came into its own during this stay in the Netherlands: it was as though the human face had finally yielded its ultimate secret to him. Dürer's greatest and most important portrait work, whether it be engraving or paintings, was done in this late period of his life. In sympathy with the religious movements of his time, he produced a set of drawings for yet another sequence of Woodcuts of the Passion, making three great sequences of Passion prints in all. And, more importantly still, he created his last painting, "The Four Apostles," as a gift to his native Nürnberg. Two high narrow panels depict St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Mark. Dürer presented these panels to the Nuremberg City Council as a legacy. They were to serve as a constant reminder to all that were to look at them not to deviate from the word of God, and, above all, to resist human folly and temptation. These, in Dürer's time, were personified by the Anabaptists.

Dürer emerges as an artist of supreme vigor and austerity, and as a personality of deep moral convictions. The circumstances of his life bear out his personal integrity beyond doubt. He never sought monetary rewards or honors; he almost seemed to shun them. While in Venice on his second sojourn, that mighty republic offered him a lofty salary if he were to stay. He did not accept, but turned down a prestigious offer which

would have assured him an existence free from financial cares, and a life that could have been devoted entirely to his art. Instead he returned to his native Nuremberg, notwithstanding the fact that he had to forego the respect and esteem Italians grant the artist naturally.

"Here I am lord, at home a parasite," he wrote in a letter to his friend Pirckheimer. A second tempting offer was refused when during his travels to the

Netherlands, the City Council of Antwerp offered him an extravagantly big remuneration, a "well-constructed" house and tax immunity. Dürer did not accept, but once again went back to Nuremberg which he must have surely loved, for in Nuremberg there were no gratuities and not even that immunity from tax which Emperor Maximilian had formerly accorded him.

NOTES



Albrecht Dürer
"Glorification of the Virgin" (from the
series *The Life of the Virgin Mary*)
Woodcut
North Carolina Museum of Art
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kistler
Fayetteville
In memory of Dr. Clemens Sommer

THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN

From Erwin Panofsky, ALBRECHT DÜRER,
Princeton University Press, 1948, Vol. I, pp. 97, 98

"The so-called *Glorification of the Virgin* (315), which concludes the Life of the Virgin as published in 1511, is by almost universal agreement of slightly earlier date than the rest of the series. Not only is it signed by a simple monogram while all the other woodcuts show the initials painted on a "cartellino" or incised into a stone, but its architecture reveals a primitive delight in overcomplication and perspective *tours de force*, coupled with an extravagance in proportions which later on gave way to a less ostentatious but more effective treatment of the setting. Enormously elongated columns (their maximum diameter being only one-fifteenth of their total height), surmounted by Gothicizing capitals, support a would-be classical epistyle. Walls are pierced not only by arch-

ways but also by irregular openings, and the whole composition, with about a dozen figures crowded into a dense group which is itself almost submerged by picturesque detail, betrays a certain *horror vacui*.

"This woodcut was very probably not intended for the place which it now occupies. Both from a formal and from an iconographical point of view, it would be more appropriate as an opening page than as a postscript to the glorious finale of the *Assumption*. But even assuming that the "*Glorification*" was originally intended to open the series and was not relegated to its present place until 1511, when the new title page was devised, even then its iconography would not entirely agree with its function.

"The Virgin Mary—the Infant Jesus

standing on her knee and reading from a Gospel book presented to Him by an Angel while another Angel plays the harp—is surrounded by a group composed of St. Joseph, St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. Augustine, St. Jerome with his lion, St. Paul, and, most prominent of all, St. Catharine. This group of Saints and Angels, united in the worship of Christ, has gathered in a room characterized as the “Thalamus Virginis” (“the Nuptial Chamber of the Virgin”). It contains a bed and a conspicuous candlestick and through an opening in the wall, above which is a figure of Moses, can be seen a gloomy back room with what seems to be the tabernacle of the Old Law. A gayer note is struck in the foreground where four winged *putti* disport themselves, one playing a flute, a second trying to catch a rabbit, the third and fourth, placed in the lower corners of the composition, supporting empty shields. These shields were obviously intended to be filled with the coats-of-arms of the respective owners, the coat of the husband to be entered, of course, in the dexter

shield, and that of the wife in the sinister one; the latter is furthermore of smaller size, and—very humorously—is being struck by a *putto* with a pair of keys, time-honored symbol of feminine sovereignty in household matters (in German law this limited independence of the wife is still called “Schlüsselgewalt” or “Schlüsselrecht”). This motif, combined with the facts that the rabbit is the most common symbol of fertility, that the peonies in the vase beneath the Madonna were ranked in beauty with lilies and roses and were held to possess the power of dispelling evil spirits and curing disease, and that St. Catharine was the patroness of virgins and brides (hence the bouquet of lilies-of-the-valley, a symbol of virtuous purity often associated with the Virgin Mary herself), suggests that the “Glorification” woodcut was originally conceived, not as an integral part of the Life of the Virgin but as an independent devotional print, to be given to young couples on their wedding day.”

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